

THE PĀNDYAN KINGDOM

From the Earliest Times to the
Sixteenth Century

BY
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PREFACE

THIS book is an amplification, with such revision as has been found necessary, of lectures delivered by me at the University of Madras in 1926.

Pāndyan antiquities have, somehow, failed to interest scholars as much as the history of the Pallavas and the Cholas. The relative seclusion of the country, and the fact that the Pāndyas had at no stage any great influence on the main course of Indian history, may account for this comparative neglect. A complete view of the story of South India, however, cannot be obtained until the history of the Pāndyas is fully worked out.

Though the last twenty or thirty years have been marked by the discovery of much new material for the reconstruction of Pāndyan history, we are still by no means sufficiently equipped to attempt a full and satisfactory account of the Pāndyan Kingdom. This work makes no claim to be considered such. It aims, rather, at a preliminary survey of the present state of our knowledge on the subject, suggesting tentative reconstructions wherever possible, and furnishing an outline to be filled in by further study and research. Much attention has necessarily been devoted to chronology and political history, society, religion and government have been, however, briefly discussed in relation to each section of the study.

• Much work yet remains to be done before the history of the Pāndyas can be fully understood. The internal chronology of the Śāṅgam Age, the history of about two centuries before the Pāndya restoration under Kaduṅṅōn and the transition from the conditions of the Śāṅgam Age to those of the First Empire, the detailed history of

the Kings of the Pāndya line in the Chola Pāndya period, and the dynastic relations of the Kings of the Second Empire, are some of the larger problems that await solution. Many small questions relative to the wars and campaigns have to be settled before the changes in the political geography of South India can be traced with accuracy. The Kongu chieftains with Pāndya names and the Pāndyas of Uccangi present other problems of considerable interest and no less difficulty. Only recently has the publication of the *lists* of inscriptions been started, and a careful study of these is necessary for a complete understanding of the social life of the country, at least under the Second Empire.

Many friends have helped me in various ways in the preparation of this book, and to them all I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude. Sir F. Desai, kachari very kindly allowed the use of his library and of the list of Pudukkottah inscriptions and their texts (unpublished). Messrs K. Swaminathan, B.A. (Oxon.), V. Saranatha Aiyangar, M.A., and C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., have gone through the book at various stages and offered useful suggestions. Mr S. R. Balasubramania Aiyar, B.A., L.T., read the proofs, verified the references, and offered helpful criticism, he also assisted me in preparing the index. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar kindly discussed with me his views on the Kalabhras and some other matters. A special word of thanks is due to Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor of Indian History, for much valuable advice and for the kind interest he has evinced in the publication.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DIACRITICAL MARKS

LONG vowels are indicated thus ā Generally, c represents च्, but forms well established in usage like Chola Chidambaram, etc., have been retained. The following may also be noted d stands for ढ, l for ள, ḷ for ழ, n for ன, ñ for ன், r for ற, ś for ஶ, s for ஷ and t for த. The form Pāndya is used, though, strictly speaking, it must be written Pāndya. The Tamil passages quoted in the text have been, with a few insignificant exceptions, transliterated in the Additional Notes at the end

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY SOURCES

IN recent years there has been a considerable accession of fresh material for the study of South Indian History in general, and of the Pāndyan kings in particular. But no attempt has been made till now to narrate the history of the Pāndyas in a continuous sketch and on scientific lines.¹ The period to be covered in this book ranges over several centuries and at every step we come across difficult questions that could be answered, if at all, only by a careful balancing of several rival points of view. The treatment of the subject must consequently be selective and such as to avoid fruitless controversy.

We have no need to concern ourselves with general questions of the origin of the Dravidians and their culture.² The student of Pāndyan history is not directly

¹ There is of course the valuable sketch of Mr K V S Aiyar in his *Ancient Dekkan*. A commendable attempt has recently been made by Pandit Harihara Aiyar of the Tirthapatti High School, Ambasamudram, to present the story in Tamil in three small booklets. The old sketches of Wilson (*J R A S*), Nelson (*Madura Country*) and Sewell (*Antiquities*, vol. II) are now much antiquated.

² The 'Dravidian problem' has been much debated from various points of view in the pages of the *Tamilian Antiquary* (defunct). See also Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, M Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, Essays I-III, Slater, *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, pp. 49 ff., makes several guesses that do not appear to have received confirmation. The main questions are—were the pre-Aryans a homogeneous or composite race? Were they 'indigenous and aboriginal' (Fergusson) or were they immigrants, wholly or in part, from elsewhere? The attempt to support the Lemurian theory from references to Tamil literature, e.g. *Śilappadikāram*, xi, ll. 18-20, cannot be considered satisfactory.

concerned with the answers to questions like the following—who were the Tamils? Were they indigenous or foreign to the land where we find them in historical times? Did they come by land from the north or the south, or by sea? But it is necessary for us to be clear in our minds about the relation in which Tamil culture stands to the culture of the rest of India. The question relates not so much to the extent of culture among the Tamils before the advent of Sanskrit influences as to whether the blending of Aryan with pre-Aryan culture was in essence a different process in the South from what it was in Northern India. The persistent independence of the Tamil idiom (and to a less degree of other Dravidian languages) in the face of Sanskrit, is in striking contrast with the almost total disappearance of non-Sanskritic vernaculars in the north of India. On the other hand we have at present no traces of any literary work in the Tamil language, however ancient, which does not betray Sanskrit influence to some extent. We may conclude that the results of Aryan penetration into the south were more cultural than racial and the pre-Aryan inhabitants survived the ‘conquest’ in sufficient strength to retain their own language and many of their old habits and methods of life, with the consequence, that the resulting culture was a real blend of the Aryan and Dravidian elements which shows several points of difference from the ‘culture of the remaining parts of India which were more thoroughly Aryanized.’¹

¹ See *Tamil Studies*, pp 193-5, Kanakasabhai (p 52) no doubt much overrated the attainments of Dravidians (and traced them to China!) while Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar*, pp 113-4) is nearer the truth. Dr Slater's book on ‘Dravidian Elements’ betrays many signs of an utter misreading of the story of Indian culture. The attempted reconstruction of a pre-Aryan Tamil Polity before the days of Agastya has not been a success. See, however, Senāthi-Rāja in *J R A S*, 1887, pp 558 ff and the *Tamilian*

The sources of Pāndyan history may now be considered. The value of indigenous literature for the historian of India has generally been somewhat underrated. There are, it is true, few professedly historical works of a contemporary character and for the most part we have to rely on casual references to historical events in works of general literature or to winnow a large mass of legend in search of a grain of fact. But with patience and care it may be found that many useful suggestions are derived from these works. The local legends centering round Madura exist in three versions of which the earliest dating from the ninth or the tenth century A D. is the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purānam* of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambī, the other versions being another and much later work of the same name by Paranjōtimunivar and the Sanskrit *Sthalapurāna* known as the *Hālāsya mahātmya*. The two later works give a list of seventy-three or seventy-four kings forming one continuous line of rulers while the earliest version only mentions, and that very casually, seven kings of the family. The set lists of the later *Purānas* were very early recognized to be worthless for purposes of history,¹ in fact most of the names are, on the face of it, inventions of later times. But several of these stories have a quaint interest for the general student who sees here almost the same tendencies at work as produced the legends of Regal Rome. The older *Tiruvilaiyādal* thus gives a story (No. 12) in explanation of the name Mādakkulakīmadurai which we find in

Antiquary Also Mr P T Srinivasa Aiyangar, 'Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture' in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol vii

¹ For the lists see Sewell's *Antiquities*, vol ii and Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp 128-9, also p 121 for a short critique of the list. Nelson, *Madura Country*, part iii—contains an English version of the stories following the Sanskrit *Purāna* mentioned in the text. Other local *Purānas* like the *Kadambavanapurāna* have not been noticed

many Pāndyan inscriptions as the name of the capital. Another story (No. 36) refers the name Madurai to the fact that Śiva converted into sweet nectar the river of poison emitted by a giant cobra set upon the city by the magic of the Jainas. On another occasion these heretics sent an elephant against the city (No. 26) and the Lord petrified this beast in the form of the Ānamalai Hill, and as he used a lion-faced arrow on the occasion, the Pāndyan king made a temple for Natarasimha on the hill. We shall have occasion later to notice the true history of the temple. Apart from such stories, which need not be further retailed here, these *Purāṇas*,—especially the earliest version, which has been engaging our attention more than the others,—may be found occasionally to contain hints of great importance. Thus the life of Mānikkavāsagar is treated in such detail as to explain the occasions on which he sang particular hymns of his *Tiruvāṣagam* and his life is narrated before that of Gṇānasambandar, and in this order, this version is followed by the later versions also. It must also be noted that some of these ‘sacred sports’ are referred to in the works of early Tamil literature and it is significant that none of these early references shows any sign of hostility to Jains or Buddhists.¹ These local and traditional *Purāṇas* are often very well supplemented by references in quasi-historical and religious works like the *Periyapurāṇam*, while the few direct references to historical persons and occurrences furnished by the saints and poets of the *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāymolī* are of inestimable value. Then, we have the Śāngam works which form a class by themselves and contain much valuable information which still awaits systematic and

¹ See e.g. *Śilappadikāram*, canto 11, ll. 23-30

inscriptions, South India is remarkably fortunate. The number of Pāndyan records registered in the Epigraphical reports of Madras and Travancore are now a few thousands, but not many of these can be referred to dates prior to A.D. 1000. There are no doubt many more still awaiting discovery and registration. It may be noted in passing that, since the rejection by government of Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion to prohibit the renovation of temples till the inscriptions in them have been copied, 'a more vigorous attempt had to be made to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction'¹ 'It was the practice in ancient times, whenever a temple had to be rebuilt, to copy the lithic records found on its walls into a book and then re-engrave them again on the new walls'² and it would be well if this practice were followed by the renovators of temples in our own day.

The bulk of the early inscriptions employ the script known as *Vatteluttu* in the Tamil parts and the grantha in the Sanskrit parts, *Vatteluttu* gave way to the present Tamil script about the time of the Chola conquest of the Pāndya country, say about the end of tenth century A.D.³ or the middle of the eleventh. It may also be noted that several of the later inscriptions are in excellent verse while the longer records of the early Pāndyas attain to great literary merit as prose compositions.

¹ H Krishna Sastri, Introduction to *S I I (Texts)* vol iv, see also *A R E* 1902 'What the Mussulmans did not destroy is being demolished by pious Hindus!'—Hultzsch. Mr Krishna Sastri has remarked elsewhere (*A R E*, 1913, part ii, para 41), 'Some intelligent engravers on the stone helped by the members of the Archæological staff must, in my opinion, be enough to carry out this old scheme of preserving ancient records from complete ruin'

² *A S I*, 1909-10, pp 128-9

³ See *A R E*, 1905, p 43, also *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. i, p. 286

Sometimes the set forms of the historical introductions in the inscriptions of particular kings help the historian in identifying the records and fixing their age.

Considerable light has been shed in particular on the history of the Pāndyas of the First Empire of the seventh to the tenth centuries A.D. by several important documents brought to light since 1906. These are the dated stone inscriptions from Ānamalai and Aivarmalai, the Trichinopoly and Ambāsamudraṁ inscriptions of Varaguna, and the copper plate records known as the Śinnamanū plates (two sets) and the Velvikkudi grant. The Madras Museum plates of Jatiliwarman are now better understood than they were when they were published in 1893. All these records (except the Museum plates) are still new, and there is much room for difference as to their import at several points. Pāndyan affairs often derive elucidation from the records of the contemporary Cholas and among these the Iruvālargādu plates and the Leiden grant of Rājendra Chola deserve special mention. The Pallava grants are also occasionally very helpful.

One difficulty that is common to an interpretation of all Pāndyan records arises from the way in which they mention regnal years in double dates x years opposite y years. Several suggestions have been made but none of them is quite satisfactory, and the usual procedure is to treat the date as equivalent to $x + y$ years,¹ and calculate the date of accession accordingly. One instance

¹ The history of this question is very interesting and the curious reader is referred to the following—Burgess and Natesa Sastri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 30, n. 1; Hultzsch, *IA*, vol. xx, pp. 288-9; Kanakabhai, *Tamils*, pp. 59-60 and notes. More recently, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao suggested (*Sen Tamil*, vol. iv, p. 114) that in a date 'இரண்டாம் ஆண்டு அரசு ஆரம்பித்தது' the first figure referred to the actual regnal year of the ruling prince and the second gave the date counting from the coronation of the previous ruler, and that this method was usually continued till the ruling prince was crowned. But this explanation fails in a

which may go to justify this practice is found in the larger Sinnamanūr grant where the regnal year *இரண்டாவதின் எதிர்ப்பதினான்காவது* is rendered in the Sanskrit part of the grant by *Sodaśe Rājyavarsē*. Again, some inscriptions give the regnal year and the number of days since the commencement of the reign or since the commencement of the current regnal year. And when we get to the numerous epigraphs of the mediæval and later Pāndyas, such difficulties increase enormously. Almost invariably the records of the Pāndyas who ruled in Tinnevely in the period of the decline of the Pāndya power, i.e. in the fifteenth century and later are dated in the Saka era, on the other hand Saka dates are the exception in the inscriptions of the mediæval Pāndyas or the Pāndyas of the Second Empire as we may call them. But several records contain astronomical data which yield often strange and perplexing results. Many kings have been made and unmade by hasty calculations and equally hasty corrections and the student of history who is not a specialist in astronomy has great difficulty with the astronomers.¹ And when it is remembered that the texts of the bulk of these inscriptions still await

date like 'பதினாறுவதின் எதிர்ப்பனையாவது' I A, vol. xv, p. 288. And Mr V Venkayya could only say, 'The second figure in these double dates which are frequently met with in Pāndya inscriptions has been taken to refer to the actual reign of the king and the first either to his appointment or his apparent or to some other event prior to his coronation' A S I 1903-4, p. 272 n). Mr C V Narayana Aiyar (*Journ Ind Hist*, vol. vii, part 2) assumes that the date opposite to which other dates follow must be constant in the case of the same king. Even this is not so. See, e.g., Nos. 518, 624 and 625 of 1926 which belong to the same king, also Nos. 159-63 of 1894 and No. IV in *Trav Arch Series* 1, pp. 99 ff., 150-51.

¹ These difficulties will call for more attention later. But a few samples may be noted here. Inscr. No. 422 of 1917 is referred to A.D. 1357 in p. 112 and to A.D. 1445 in p. 113 of *A R E 1917-18*. At p. 89, *A R E 1923-24* we find Nos. 327 and 334 of 1923 with calculated dates A.D. 1278 and A.D. 1417 ascribed to the same king.

publication one gets some idea of the conditions under which this part of the subject has to be studied.

As pointed out in the *Epigraphical Report, 1913* (p 85) 'The subject-matter of the majority of the well-preserved inscriptions is, a gift made to a temple either of land or of money, for maintaining daily worship, special festivals, lamps, flower gardens and repairs, for feeding Brahmanas and providing jewels, or, it may be for supplying ghee of sheep and cows, to burn perpetual lamps in the temple. Lands were presented or, sometimes, sold to the temple by private persons and village communities. In the latter case, the sale amount was recovered from the temple treasury through the god Chandēsvara (the supposed manager of Śiva temple) and through temple trustees (*sthānattā*) (in the case of Vishnu temples). All land-gifts, whether sold or presented, were made entirely tax-free, the parties selling them invariably agreeing to meet the *īrai* on such lands from their own pocket. Lands thus owned by the temple (*dēvadāna*) were in turn leased out to be permanently enjoyed as *kāni*, to select tenants or to the donors themselves (if cultivators), in consideration of a fixed amount of coin paid, or grain measured, at the temple treasury, regularly every year. Money gifts made to the temple were deposited with village assemblies and private individuals on permanent interest (*nīlai-poliyūttu*) from which alone the temple had to meet the expenses specified by the donor. If the interest was not paid in any one year, the depositories agreed to pay it with the amount due for the following year together with a fine (*dandam*) fixed for the default period by the officer (*dharmāsana* or *dharmāsanabhatta*) who was one of the members of the temple establishment. A curious condition was that the man who came to collect the arrears thus due was to be

fed twice every day till, perhaps, the amount was fully paid up. Sheep and cows granted to a temple for maintaining lamps were received by the shepherds (*mamādis*) and the prescribed measure or measures of ghee supplied without fail. The cattle were, it may be noted, considered "never to die or never to grow old" for the apparent reason that they multiplied and increased in number. A very small percentage of the inscriptions treat of subjects other than the gifts specified above. Sale or exchange of land among private parties, inquiries into temple management made by officers (*adhikārī*) appointed by the king with a view to collect the outstanding arrears of a temple, assignment of taxes by kings or of tolls by merchants for the benefit of a temple, dedication of hereditary servants (men or women), settlements of disputes, specification of caste or communal privileges, memorials to heroes who died either in cattle raids or on battlefields and other public charities, such as the construction of a tank, the planting of a grove, the gift of a water-trough, etc., are also, sometimes, permanently recorded on stone. It may be added that these records often yield information of value relating to land tenure, public revenues, village administration, and generally the state of social and political life, affairs and activities.

But here a warning is necessary. The passage just quoted from the epigraphical report furnishes a comparatively harmless instance of a tendency to combine information from diverse sources, separated widely in time and space, and so to form a general picture of the social or political life of the country. This tendency has particularly unfortunate results in the study of institutions as it is likely to produce an appearance of flat uniformity and absence of change, it will also increase the difficulty of detecting the presence or otherwise of

any signs of change or growth' It is only by carefully limiting our observations to the time and place indicated by the sources of our information that truth can be served in the present, and perhaps future work rendered easier ¹

We do not derive much help from numismatics for the study of Pāndyan history. Coins definitely attributable to the early Pāndyas are very rare A few gold specimens are known² and these bear only the Pāndyan figure of the fish. It is very interesting that the name Kūna known only to tradition and not to epigraphy is borne on a copper coin figured by Sir Walter Elliot (No. 140) It is well known that Roman coins belonging to different periods have been found in several places in South India and the abundance of Roman copper of the fourth and fifth centuries A D. in and near Madura has sometimes led to the supposition that a local mint issued these pieces for daily use in a settlement of foreign merchants Many Roman coins of the Early Empire have been found in and near Madura ³ By far the largest number of coins belong to the mediæval Pāndyas and bear legends substantiated by inscriptions These coins often show the influence of the Chola conquest by the presence of a tiger design or of Ceylonese influence indicated by the presence of 'a rude human figure, standing on the obverse, and seated on the reverse' (Elliot, p 108) The earliest coins of the Ceylon type date from the eleventh century, 'it came into use in Drāvida only, at the time the Chola-Pāndyan dynasty were masters of the whole of it' (Elliot, p. 109) It

¹Cf similar remarks of Prof K V Rangaswami Aiyangar in another connection, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp 31-2

² See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p 121

³ See Sewell in *J R A S*, 1904, pp 595 and 600-15,

should also be observed that 'the constant warfare which raged between Chola and Pāndyan (rulers) not only renders it well nigh impossible at any particular time to fix the exact boundaries of their respective territories, but also causes considerable uncertainty in the identity of a large number of their coins ' ¹ "

This review of the sources indicates that there is a large mass of material for the history of the Pāndyas, which awaits critical discussion and cautious summing up. Much good work has been done already, but more still remains to be done and it will be our endeavour in the following chapters to do something in this way.

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¹ Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, pp 11-12. The most interesting of the Pāndya coins known so far have been described in this publication and Elliot, as also in the papers of Sir T. Desikachari in the *Tamilian Antiquary* and that of Hultzsch in *I A*, vol xxi, pp 323-6. The Roman coins are discussed by Sewell in the *J R A S*, 1904. It may be noted that Sir T. Desikachari mentions that gold coins with the fish design were found in South Canara, cf., in this connection, the observations of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 40.

CHAPTER II

EARLY REFERENCES THE AGE OF THE ŚANGAM

EARLY REFERENCES

‘ THE oldest Diavidian word found in any written record in the world appears to be the word for “ peacock ” in the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of the articles of merchandise brought from Tarshish or Ophir in Solomon’s ships ’ ¹ (Caldwell) ‘ In the ruins of Mugheir . . . not less than 3,000 years B C , was found a piece of Indian teak ’ ² These references are calculated to give some idea of the antiquity of civilization in the Tamil land.

A verse in the *Kīshkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana* has been taken to refer to the Kapātapuram of the Pāndyas famed in the Tamil legends of the ‘ Three Śangams ’ ³ But even if the *śloka* bears the meaning attributed to it, it is notoriously unsafe to base any conclusions about chronology solely on the texts of the epics and there is still the possibility that the verse is not older than the age in which these legends grew. It is not altogether free from doubt if the grammarian Kātyāyana refers to

¹ Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, p 88

² Ragozin, *Vedic India*, p 305 referring to Sayce But see Kennedy, *J R A S*, 1898, p 267, where a much later date, sixth century, seems to be suggested

³ *Rāmāyana*, *Kīsh Kāṇḍa*, canto 41, *verse* 19 It has been pointed out by Pandit M Rāghava Aiyangār that the import of this verse has been missed by Tirtha and Rāma, the North Indian commentators, and correctly given only by Govindarāja (Paper on ‘ Valmiki and South India ’ in the *Tamilian Antiquary*) But the Pandit seems to have mistaken Govindarāja’s meaning, See also O Stein, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol iv, p 778 The *Mahābhārata* references are not much more reliable See Dr S K Aiyangār, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p 60 n

the Pāndyan country and its king as has been generally held on the strength of the opinions of two great Sanskritists of the last generation—Prof. Max Muller and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.¹ The original name of the Tamil country is பண்டி (Pāndi) and not பண்டு (Pāndu) which it should be, if Kātyāyana's rule referred to it. And there is the possibility that the Pāndya of the Sanskrit grammar may be derived from Pāndu, the name of a people in the Madhyadesa in Northern India.² The name Pāndya perhaps came to be applied to the Tamil *Pāndinādu* in a process of Sanskritization on account of phonetic similarity and a Pāndava origin invented for the Tamil ruling family. Whatever its derivation may be, we find the form Pāndya employed by Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* and his references are clearly to the Pāndyas of South India and to their capital Madura.³ The importance of these references will depend upon the view taken of the age and authenticity of the text of the *Arthaśāstra*. Likewise the reference in the *Mahāvamśa* to a Pāndyan princess who became the queen of Vijaya of Ceylon soon after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha is too vague and too much mixed up with legends to be of any value to the historian.⁴

¹ See Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, p 12 and Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 6. These writers were rather too much under the influence of the Aryan theory in its crude form and did not allow sufficiently for aboriginal influences.

² See Fleet's topographical list of the *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, I A, vol xxii, p 187, *contra* Caldwell, *Tinnevely*, p 12, who derives பண்டி from Pāndya as a more Tamilized form.

³ *Kauṭilya* ii 11 refers to *Pāndyakavāṭakam* as a variety of pearl with which compare Varāhamihira's *Pāndyavāṭa* (Fleet, *ibid*). Again at the end of the same chapter *Kauṭilya* refers to *Mādhuram* as a variety of cotton fabric, thereby showing the antiquity of the cotton industry of Madura.

⁴ See Geiger's *Mahāvamśa*, pp 59 and 61. Is there any connection between this story and that of Arjuna's (Vijaya's) marriage with a Pāndyan princess?

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME

In fact the origin of the Pāndyas is, like all such questions of origin, involved in much obscurity. This line of kings is given in the legends two different origins which are not easy to reconcile. The story of the three brothers of Korkai¹ is of the Romulus pattern and perhaps indigenous. The connection with the Pāndavas² and the moon is the result of another and a more ambitious type of legend which threw the more humble story into the shade in historical times. And it may be noted here that the *Tiru . Ar . ā . ī . t . t . ā . l* of Nambī mentions the lunar origin of the Pāndyas only in the course of a restoration after a deluge (No. 17), and in this it is followed by the later versions which, of course, contain more embellished accounts (No. 19 in Nelson). None of the legends can be taken as proof, as has sometimes been done,³ that the Pāndyas ruled from other centres like Korkai, Manalūr or Kalyānapūra, before they made Madura their capital, as the very first king in all the lists of kings that have been handed down to us is said to have founded Madura.

There is no reason for thinking that the conquering expeditions of the Mauryan Emperors in the south reached the Pāndya country as has been suggested.⁴ The earliest indubitable reference to the Pāndyan kingdom is still that in the Aśoka edicts. Recently,⁵ the existence of rock-cut beds and Brāhmi inscriptions in

¹ Caldwell, *Tinnevely*, p. 12

² Story of Arjuna's marriage, the name, *அரசியார், பஞ்சவர்ண*

³ Smith, *Early History*, fourth edition, p. 468, *I A* xiii, p. 66

⁴ See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings*, pp. 81 ff. and *Q. I. M. S.*, vol. xvi, p. 304 and the references given there.

⁵ See *A. R. E.*, 1937 onwards and *A. S. I.*, 1909-10, p. 125 and *A. R. E.*, 1909, p. 71 for the quotations which follow. Also K. V. Subramania Aiyar in the *I A*, vol. xl, p. 209 ff.

natural caverns in several places in the Madura and Tinnevely Districts has been brought to light 'None of these inscriptions have so far disclosed any king's name. But they show that the possession of an alphabetical system was one of the factors in the civilization of the Pāndyan kingdom in the second and third centuries B.C', if not earlier. These monuments go also to show the presence very early in the south of strong Buddhist and Jaina influences. They seem to confirm the impression derived from a careful study of the Tamil classics that while Buddhism came in earlier, Jainism was perhaps the more persistent in its influence on Tamil literature. Mr Krishna Sastri has observed that 'it is strange how these sects did not exercise any influence with their patrons in the matter of their being provided with comfortable rock-cut cells, during their retirement to the hills in the rainy season, as their compatriots of the north did. Perhaps, the South Indian kings of those times were inclined more towards Brahmanical institutions than Buddhist or Jaina.'

THE AGE OF THE SANGAM

The earliest historical kings of the Pāndya country are those mentioned in the early Tamil works that have come down to us in the form of the collections known as the Sangam works. It has been sometimes doubted if the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* belong to this group and the whole question of the age and historicity of the Sangam has given rise to controversies which do not seem to be justified on a calm review of the various lines of evidence available. It is unfortunate that the earliest account we have of this matter is enveloped in legends. This account occurs in the introduction to the commentary on the *Iravayanār Ahapporul* which refers

together in the well-known collections.¹ Even a cursory study of the many short poems and others of moderate length like the *Maduraikkāṇṇi* will show two or or three things clearly. *Firstly*, we are dealing with a mass of literature that extends over three or four continuous generations or perhaps more. In the light of this internal evidence we may assign a length, of, say, 150 to 200 years for the period represented in these works. *Secondly*, the political geography of the country includes besides the 'three monarchies' of the south, a number of minor principalities ruled over by petty warrior chieftains, vying with one another in the arts of war and peace. *Thirdly*, the references frequently made to ports, ships and merchandise including foreign imports and exports remind us strongly of the notices of South India by the classical geographers and historians of the early years of the Christian era. The common references to ports like Muśiri, Koṅkai and Tondi, to mention only a few, and articles like pepper, wine and silk cloth are too obvious to be missed. *Lastly*, the style and diction of these works undoubtedly bear close affinities to those of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* and are much nearer to these in point of time than to the hymns of the *Tiruvāśagam* or the *Tēvāram* and the two sets of works cannot belong to the same age but must be assigned to different periods which may be separated by centuries. This consideration gains in strength from the state of religious life which is reflected in the *Śilappadikāram* on the one hand and the devotional

¹ Perhaps it is worth stating that not much importance should be attached to the grouping of these anthologies into *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Padimēnkiḷkanakku* especially, as the second of these groups seems to take in several late and unauthenticated works. See in this connection V Venkayya on the *Nāladīyār* and the *Muttariyar* in the *A S I*, 1905-6, p. 178 n

hymns on the other. We have only to recall the enumeration of the temples in *Puḥār* (canto 5), the *Vēttuvavarai* (canto 12) and the *Āycciyar Kuṇavar* (canto 17) in the *Śilappadikāram*¹ and contrast these with the fervid devotion to Śiva and to Viṣṇu coupled with an equally fervid hatred of the heretic sects of Buddhism and Jainism that mark the sectarian hymns of the *Tēvāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, and we at once realize that there is no difficulty involved in assuming an interval of some centuries between the two ages, on the other hand such an assumption seems to be forced on us by other considerations like the absence of any reference to the Pallavas in the Śāngam works. It will now be clear that there is a strong *prima facie* case for accepting the chronological indications of the Gaḇabāhu synchronism and referring the Śāngam works to the early centuries of the Christian era. And this arrangement could not be shaken except by arguments of equal cogency which do not conflict with the general probabilities of South Indian history².

¹ The *Manimēkalai* is strongly tinged with Buddhism but does not appear to contain anything conflicting with the indications given by the *Śilappadikāram*. This work has been studied in its historical setting in a recent monograph by Dr S. K. Aiyangār.

² I have made the discussion of this vexed question quite general and based it on broad considerations in order to avoid getting lost in minutiae. Those who wish to pursue the controversy in more detail must go to Dr S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings*, pp. 161-240 and 287 ff and his *Ancient India*, K. G. Sankara, *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. viii, pp. 34-60, K. G. Sesha Aiyar, same, vol. xvi, pp. 143 ff and on the other side L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. 1 and Mr K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dehkan*, pp. 91 ff and the references given by these writers. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangār's arguments for a fifth century are refuted in detail by Mr K. Srinivasa Pillai (see சேன செங்குட்டுவன் of the Pandit and *Śen Tamil*, vol. xv, pp. 3-24). There is little to be said in favour of Mr T. G. Aravamuthan's effort to explain one unknown by another in his Essay on 'The Kāvēri, Maūḥharis and the Śāngam Age'. It is perhaps not possible with our present knowledge to explain the references to

We shall now briefly review some of the considerations which have been held to militate against this view. The late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai said in his *Indian Ephemeris*, vol 1, 'Portions of the *Paripadal* anthology which deal with developments of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism seem to be more recent than the first century A.D. if we are to follow Dr. Bhandarkar and other eminent authorities' (p. 105). Again, Kanakasabhai's work would have to be renamed '*The Tamils 1200 Years Ago*'. 'These somewhat overdrawn pictures of the state of civilization in South India 1800 years ago will have to be revised in the light of our present day knowledge of epigraphy and chronology, and the scenes of the Madurai Śāṅgam will have to be transferred from the first century A.D. to the seventh and the early part of the eighth century A.D., the period which witnessed along with the decay of Buddhism, the rise of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite teachers, Tirugnānasambandar, Śāṅkarācārya, Nammālvār, etc.' Incidentally this rearrangement will explain the Tamil literary tradition which ascribes the *Jivakacintāman* to the same age as other Śāṅgam works (p. 469). Lastly, the Kannaki legend may be as old as Gaṇabāhu I in Ceylon, but not older than the seventh or sixth century in South India. The contemporaneity of the kings mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram* is very doubtful as the figures of Karikāla and

the fights with the Aryans of the north of Karikāla (*Śīla*, canto 5, 11, 89-110) and of Śenguttuva (cantos 26-8), Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Augustan Age) supposes that the southern kings helped the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Satakarni in repulsing the Sakas—but this assumption does not rest on much solid evidence and does not explain all the references in the epics. It is also worth noting that the Perundēvanār of the Śāṅgam is an earlier poet different from the *protege* of Tellāreṇḍa Nandipōṭai. See Venkayya in *A. R. E.*, 1907, pp. 51-2 and *Narrinai* ed. Narayanaswami Aiyar, introduction, p. 54, *contra* K. V. S. Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5, and Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 80.

Nedunjeliyan are shadowy whereas Senguttuvan is the one bold figure 'The fiction of writing a romantic poem under the pen-name Ilango Adikal was cleverly conceived' (459-60, n)

That we read the history of religious faith in South India differently from Mr Swamikannu Pillai has been already indicated. It is not possible to see how that distinguished chronologist claims the support of 'Dr Bhandarkar and other eminent authorities' for his view of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the *Paṇṇipādal* as on the one hand he has not given any indications that would enable us to test the statement, and on the other, Dr Bhandarkar's work is full of the sense of the difficulties of marking exact chronological limits in the history of religions in India and leaves many points studiously vague. At any rate the present writer is constrained to confess his inability to see Mr Pillai's meaning and rest content with the remark that arguments which resolve themselves into differences of opinion cannot, with profit, be pursued far. He may however quote Bhandarkar and say 'there is nothing to show that Vaiṣṇavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier i.e., about the first century' (p. 50). There is indeed a tradition which ascribes the *Jīvakacintāmanī* to a Śāṅgam but this very tradition seems to distinguish this Śāṅgam from the earlier one and refer it to Poyyāmolī Pulavar¹. That in a work of his brother we see more of Śenguttuvan than of the two other monarchs who were his contemporaries in the Tamil land is only to be expected and does not need any special explanation, much less does it warrant the theory that Ilango Adikal is a fictitious pen-name. Lastly, when Mr Pillai concedes that the Kannaki

¹ See M. Raghava Aiyangār, on 'Poyyāmolippulavar' in *Sen Tamil*, vol. v, pp. 512-13.

legend may be as old^c as Gajabāhu I in Ceylon he virtually gives away his case, for the 'Kannaki legend' was distinctly of South Indian, not of Ceylonese, origin.

It now remains to see if our present-day knowledge of chronology and epigraphy throws any new light on the age of the Śāṅgam, or even if it renders the early centuries of the Christian era an improbable period for it. The astronomical data in the text of the *Śilappadikāram* have been held insufficient by many scholars for the purpose of calculating correctly the date of the events mentioned therein, and Mr Swamikkannu Pillai's efforts to eke out the text by doubtful particulars from the commentary cannot be held to be satisfactory,¹ and his result has not been generally accepted. And there is no reason to think that the mention of a week day in a work must mean that it is later than A.D. 400 as has been maintained by those who advocate a late date for the *Śilappadikāram* and quote Fleet in their support. This has been made sufficiently clear by other writers who suggest a Chaldean origin for the Indian system. A recent writer has remarked² that 'the Hindu names (of week days) are the exact equivalents of the Roman names which came into use in the West about the beginning of the Christian era' and we know that there was active intercourse between the Early Empire and South India at the time.

We now come to the epigraphical evidence on the matter. The facts are—

- (1) The Vēlvikkudī grant mentions Palyāga Mudukudumī Peruvalūdi as the original donor of Vēlvikkudī,
- (2) This gift was enjoyed by the donee and his descendants for long (*nīdu bhukṭi*) before the Kalabhra

¹ See in this particular the appendix to ch. vii in Dr S. K. Aiyāṅgār's *Beginnings*.

² G. R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoir No. 18 of Arch. Department), p. 36.

interregnum at the end of which came the Pāndya restoration under Kadungōn,

(3) Kadungōn's grandson is called Silai-ttadakkai Kkolai-kkalirru Cēḷiyan Vānavan Śengōr-Cēndan,

(4) The larger Śinnamanūr plates begin the genealogy with Aṇḱēsari Parāṇkuśa, evidently the king mentioned next to Śēndan in the Vēlvikkudi grant, and refer to the battle of Talaiyālangānam, the translation of the *Bhāratam* and the establishment of the Śangam as among the achievements of the early Pāndyas whose names are not given

In some discussions the following assumptions have been quietly made, though there is nothing in the epigraphs themselves to support any of them¹ and some of them are even opposed to indications in the records—(a) Mudukudumi ruled immediately before the Kalabhra interregnum, (b) the name of Kadungōn's grandson is Śēḷiyan, (c) this Śēḷiyan must be the same as the famous Talaiyālangānattu Nedunḷēḷiyan of Śangam fame especially because the Śinnamanūr plates which begin the genealogy immediately after this Śēḷiyan refer to Talaiyālangānam as among the past glories of the Pāndyas. But Mudukudumi could not have reigned immediately before the Kalabhra occupation, for if he did so, a man speaking centuries afterwards could not say that his gift was enjoyed for long before the foreign inroad. And the name of Kadungōn's grandson is not Śēḷiyan, which is only a common name for the Pāndyas, and occurs here in the midst of an ornate introduction

¹ See T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Śen Tamil*, vol. vi, pp. 440 ff. and K. V. S. Aiyar in *Ancient Deccan*, p. 111 and the *I. A.*, vol. xl, pp. 224 ff. Unless I am much mistaken, Mr. Aiyar begs the question at p. 226, para 2 of *I. A.*, vol. xl, and simply assumes what he has really got to prove, viz. that the victor of Nelvēli was son of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. See also Krishna Sastri in *E. I.*, vol. xvii, p. 297, *contra* Venkayya in *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3, pp. vi and vii.

to the king's real name, Sēndan which seems to be confirmed by the genealogy of the smaller Śinnamanūr plates which begins with Jayantavarman. Moreover it must be explained why, if this Śēliyan Sēndan as he is called by the epigraphists was the victor of Talaiyālangānam, a battle so famous in literature as to lend a prefix to the name of its hero, that historic fight 'is not mentioned in the Vēlvikkudī grant which gives a long account of the achievements of the kings it names. It thus seems clear that the mention of Mudukudumī and Talaiyālangānam in these epigraphs confirms in some measure the particulars we gather from Śāngam literature, and that it throws no new light on the age of the Śāngam. If anything, the reference to the long interval between Mudukudumī and the Kalabhra occupation, and the reckoning of the Śāngam and the translation of the *Bhāratam* together with Talaiyālangānam among the legendary achievements which constituted the heirloom of the family, may lead an unbiassed student to the conclusion that these belong to an age altogether removed in the past from the kings whose history is recorded in these epigraphs

We are therefore bound to assume,¹ until much stronger proof to the contrary is forthcoming than has been put forward so far, that the Śāngam age lies in the early centuries of the Christian era and we shall do so in the following chapter which attempts a reconstruction of the age in so far as it relates to the Pāndyan kingdom

¹ This conclusion has been accepted by distinguished writers like V A Smith, *Early History*, pp 471-2 and n 4 at p 457, and Sir Charles Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol II, p 214. 'Most Tamil scholars are agreed in referring the oldest Tamil literature to the first three centuries of our era and I see nothing improbable in this' Hultzsch's objections to this date, *SII*, vol II, p 378, are too general and impressionistic to need separate discussion

The *Maduraikkāṇṇi*¹ refers to two kings as the predecessors of the Nedunjeḷḷiyan of Talaiyālangānam viz., a Nediyōn (l. 61) identified with Vadimbalamba Ninṇavan by the famous annotator Naccinārkkiniyar and a Palsālai Mudukudumī (l. 759) no doubt the same as the first king of the Vēlvikkudī grant. It is not possible to decide the distance in time between these two kings or between these and the Nedunjeḷḷiyan of the *Śilappadikāram* known as Ariyappadaikadanda on the one hand and the other Nedunjeḷḷiyan who is the hero of the Talaiyālangānam fight and of the *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, as perhaps also of the Nedunalvādaī. We proceed to note the outstanding facts about each of these kings recorded in the literature of the age.

The king referred to as Nediyōn or Vadimbalamba Ninṇavan is an almost mythical figure whose achievements find a place in the 'Sacred Sports' of Madura,¹ and also among the traditional achievements of the Pāndyan kings mentioned in general terms in the Vēlvikkudī and Śinnamanūr plates. Mudukudumī Peruvaḷudī is a more tangible figure who is praised by three poets in five short poems.² One of them (*Puṇam* 12) refers to his foreign conquests as the basis of his liberality, and another by the same poet (*Puṇam* 15) contains a shocking description of the way he treated conquered territory ploughing it with white-mouthed asses and refers to the many big sacrifices he performed in his day. Another poem (*Puṇam* 6) contains a blessing coupled with extravagant hero-worship which claims all India as the territory ruled by this king. The king who ruled in Madura at the time of the story of the *Śilappadikāram*

¹ See Nambī's *Tiruvilaiyādal*, No 21

² *Neṭṭunaiyār*, *Puṇam* 9, 12, 15, *Neḍumpalliyattanār*, *Puṇam* 64 and *Kārikīlār Puṇam* 6

was a Nedunjeḷiyan distinguished by the epithet Āriyappadaikadanda¹ for reasons that cannot now be traced. He is said to have died of a broken heart when the innocence of Kōvalan was proved to him by Kannakī beyond all possibility of doubt. There is a short poem (*Puṟam* 183) ascribed to him which puts learning above birth and caste. His viceroy at Kōrkai and perhaps his son and successor was another Śeḷiyan, called Verri Vērcēḷiyan or Ilanjeḷiyan, who wreaked terrible vengeance on the goldsmiths by sacrificing a thousand of them in one day to appease the great goddess who had been Kannakī.² This occurrence which seems to be historical in substance must be ascribed to about the time of Gajabāhu I of Ceylon, somewhere in the second century A D. It seems probable that the only other figure that stands out boldly from the rest, the victor of Talaiyālangānam,³ was later than the rulers mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*. He came to the throne as a youth and early in his reign proved more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs aided by five minor chiefs. The decisive engagement took place at Talaiyālangānam which has been, with great plausibility, identified with a village of almost the same name, Talai-Ālam-Kādu, eight miles north-west of Tīruvālūr,

¹ See end of *Maduraikkāṇḍam*, *Katturai*, ll 14-18

² *Śilappadikāram*, canto 27, ll 127 ff

³ There are numerous references to this king and it will be well to bring them together here. Kallādanār in *Puṟam* 23, 25, 371, Idaiḱkunṭur Kīlār in same Nos 76 to 79 all referring to the great victory of the reign and No 76 giving also the alternative name of the king Paṣumpūtpāṇḍiyan, Kudapulaviyanār in *Puṟam* 18 and 19, Paraṇar in *Aham* 116, 162 and *Kuṟuntogai* 393, Nakkīrar in *Aham* 36, 253 and 266, also *Narṟinaṭ* 358 and perhaps *Neḍunalvāḍai* in the *Pattupṭāḷḷu*, *Maduraikkāṇḍam* in *Aham* 338, Māngudi Kīlār, *Puṟam* 24, 26, 372 and above all the *Maduraikkāṇḍam* of Māngudi Marudan, *Puṟam* 72 is ascribed to the king himself and an excellent piece. *Narṟinaṭ* 387 and *Aham* 175 may or may not be contemporary references

in the Tanjore District¹ There exists a simple poem of great force and beauty (*Puram* 72) in which the young king swears an oath of heroism and victory in the ensuing fight which he appears to have amply fulfilled. It seems that his enemies took the offensive, greatly under-rating the strength of the youthful ruler and hoping for an easy partition of his territory among themselves.² Nedunjelīyan had to begin his fights almost at the gates of Madura (*Aham* 116) and pursue his foes up to the scene of the decisive engagement in the Tanjore District. It must have been in this campaign that Māndaram Chēral Irumporai, the son of the Chera King of the Elephant-look must have been captured alive, as is seen from *Puram* 17, in literal fulfilment of Nedunjelīyan's vow referred to above (*Puram* 72). After thus surmounting his initial difficulties in the defensive war that was forced on him by his jealous and aggressive neighbours, Nedunjelīyan appears to have taken the offensive in his turn and won substantial successes against his foes. Two separate campaigns seem to be mentioned, one against the Kongu chief, an Adigan, the chief event of the war being an engagement in a place somewhere near Uraiyūr,³ and another against the Nīdūr chieftain Evvi which resulted in the annexation to the Pāndyan kingdom of the Mīlalaikkūrram and the Muttūrrukkūrram, apparently territories in the modern district of Tanjore⁴ That this

¹ P Sundaram Pillai, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol ix, p 117

² *Puram* 78, ll 5-6—'பெரியமயாமே, நமமிற பொருளுமினயன, கொண்டியும் பெரிதென'

³ The place is referred to as 'குகைக்கோழி வாகைப்பறத்தல்' (*Kuruntogai* 393 Pandit R Rāghava Aiyangār calls it the battle of வாகைப்பறத்தல் *Ahanānūru*, Intro, p 49 See also *Aham* 253

⁴ *Puram* 24, *Aham* 266 Perhaps *Muttūrrukkūrram* was taken not from Evvi but some one else—*Puram* 24, ll 20-23 It should be noted however that Evvi is called in this poem மாவேன and that Muttūgu is said

king was a follower of Brahminical Hinduism is clear from the reference to a vedic sacrifice performed by him with the assistance of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. Himself evidently a poet of no small merit, this king appears to have been also a great patron of the poets and is celebrated in the songs of many of them including Māngudi Marudān, Nakkīrar and his father, Parānar and Kallādanār. The other Pāndyas of this period may now be more briefly noticed. Some of them may have been only members of the royal family who never ruled as kings—for example, Ilamperuvalūdi who died in the sea, the author of *Paripādal* No 15, *Puṇam* 182 and *Narṇimai* 55 and 56, Nambī Nedunjeḷḷiyan (*Idaṇam* 239), Pāndyan Naḷaḷūdi, the author of *Paripādal* 12, Cittiramādattu Tunjiya Nanmaran (*Puṇam* 59) and others.¹ Pāndyan Arivudai Nambī, suitably to his name, figures as the author of several wise little poems² and is the object of a beautiful address by the poet Piṣīrāndaiyār (*Puṇam* 184) on the economy of moderation in taxation. Another king who is glorified by renowned poets like

to have belonged to ௭௪-௭௫-௭௬-௭௭. Mr K. V. S. Aiyar's guesses about Yūti Chwāy *Malalaḥ* being the same as *Malalaikkūṇṇam* (*Arctic & Deccan*, pp. 115-22) are not warranted by literary and epigraphic evidence. And at p. 120 he surely gives a wrong lead when he says 'this division covered the whole of the surrounding Madura'.

¹ For the sake of completeness, those omitted in the text may be noted down here.

(1) Andarmanan Kuṇṇaḷūdi, author of *Kuṇṇutogai* 345 and *Aham* 150 and 228.

(2) Pāndyan Pannādutandīn *Kuṇṇutogai* 270.

(3) „ Mālanmāran „ 245.

(4) „ Mudatirum iṇṇa *Narṇimai* 105 (refers to Kuṭṭuvan) and 228.

(5) „ Mīraṇ Vaḷūdi, author of *Narṇimai* 97 and 301.

(6) „ Veḷḷivambalattu Tunjiya Peruvāḷūdi, *Puṇam* 58.

(7) Karunguḷōḷḷāpperum Peyir Vaḷūdi, *Puṇam* 3.

(8) Pāndyan Kīraṇ Sūttan, *Puṇam* 178.

(9) Kūḍakārattu Tunjiya Mīraṇ Vaḷūdi, *Puṇam* 51 and 52.

² *Kuṇṇu* 230, *Narṇimai* 15, *Puṇam* 188, *Aham* 28.

Nakkīrar (*Puram* 55-57) earned for himself the unenviable distinction of being pilloried in song by two poets (*Puram* 196, 198) for his illiberality and his name was Ilavandikaippallittunjiya Nanmāran. We do not know how the censure was provoked and how far it was justified. Famous as the contemporary of the author of the *Tirukkural*, Ugrapperuvalūdi proved the strength of his arm by subduing the chieftain of Kanappēr (Kalaiyār-kōil) who had entrenched himself behind a strong fortress in the place.¹ He was a poet himself and is said in tradition to have caused the anthology of the *Ahanānūru* to be made. This king has been sometimes identified, not on quite convincing grounds, with the Nedunjeliyan who expiated on his throne the murder of Kōvalan.² The last king we shall notice in this necessarily disconnected sketch will be Bhūtappāndiyan who took Ollaiyūr and whose queen is well known by her song on the occasion of her *sati*.³ We know little about this king except from his own compositions (*Puram* 71, 246, 247 and *Aham* 25) and these present him as a loving husband who was lucky in the company of his cultured wife and dreaded separation from her, and a prince who valued his friends more than is the rule with princes.

The period of these 'numerous kings' with their 'clumsy names and titles', as Smith found it, is well portrayed in the literature of the age. A careful study of

¹ *Puram* 21, 367 and the pieces by the king himself viz., *Aham* 26, *Narrinai* 98 and *Tiruvalluvmālai* 4

² Dr S K Aiyangār, *The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature in Ancient India*, pp 355-6

³ *Puram* 246, see also *Puram* 247, referring to same. Pandit R Rāghava Aiyangār, *Śen Tamil*, vol II, p 304 points out that Bhūta Pāndyan may be taken to be later than Nedunjeliyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam as he refers to Titiyan who was beaten in that famous battle

Laksmī And Murugan the son of Korraṇai, is described as the son of six mothers, the captain of the forces of the gods, and the wealth of the Brahmins.¹ Again a poem (No. 55) in the *Puṇānūru* contains a beautiful reference to the story of the burning of the Tripura by Śiva and to the shrine of Subrahmanya in Śendil (Tiruccendūr), and the *Āycciyarkuṇṇai* in the *Śilappadikāram* contains songs which embody the whole cycles of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends in terms which leave no room for doubt about the general prevalence of the mythology of Brahminical Hinduism in the Tamil land in those days. It has been suggested that stories like those of Kannappar, Chandēsvarar and Kāraikkāl Ammai may be considered to contain traces of pre-Aryan religious customs. It may be so And the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* prove unmistakably the prevalence of Jainism and Buddhism side by side with the other cults and this indication receives confirmation, as has already been pointed out, from the early monuments of the Tamil land.

The form of government was, of course, monarchy. It is not possible to understand the exact import of the ' five great *Kuḷus* ' and ' eight great *Āyams* ' which are often referred to as part of the king's paraphernalia on ceremonial occasions² These institutions seem to have been common to the three monarchies of the Tamil land and commentators differ as to their significance The older annotation makes the five *Kuḷus* consist of the people (மாதனம்), priests (பிரபுபு), physicians

¹ See *Tirumurukaruppadaḷ*, ll 256-65, and Kunra Kuravai incanto 24 of the *Śilappadikāram*

² See Index மெய்யுறுகுறு and எண்பொய்யம் in Pandit Swāminātha Aiyar's editions of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai*

(மருத்தா), astrologers (நீமித்தா) and ministers (அமைச்சா) while a later gloss adds commanders, messengers and spies to the ministers and priests (புரோகிதா) to make the five groups. Likewise there are two explanations given of the 'eight *Āyams*', the earlier one makes them groups of attendants on the king's person like perfumers, dressing boys, etc., a later account names more important groups of persons among whom are included the people of the capital city (நகரமாந்தா) and the leaders of the elephant corps and of the cavalry. One should like to know more about these apparently ceremonial groups of attendants, officials and non-officials, before one accepts Mr Kanakasabhai's statement that 'the council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people'.¹ It is well known that the ideals of monarchy laid down in the *Kural* are of a very high order, and these seem to have been constantly pressed on the monarch's attention by the numerous poets of the land in the age we are dealing with. Thus one poet (*Puram* 184) vividly contrasts the effects of moderate taxes which replenish the royal treasury periodically and make the king popular with those of oppressive exactions which impoverish the country and render the king unpopular, and illustrates his meaning by the difference in the cost of feeding an elephant from a barn and of letting him roam freely over fields ripe for the harvest. Another (*Puram* 55) stresses the need for impartiality in the king's justice, and valour, grace and liberality in his conduct in terms that deserve to be quoted in the original

¹ See his *Tamils*, p. 109

அறநெறி முதறநே யரசின கொற்ற
 மதனால, நமரெனக கோலகோடாது
 பிறரெனக குணங் கொல்லாது
 ஞாயிறு றனன வெந்திற லாணமையுந்
 திருக ளனன தண்பெருஞ் சாயலும
 வானத் தனன வணமையு முன்னு
 முடைய யாகி
 நீநீடு வாழிய நெடுநதகை

It is more interesting to notice the reference in the *Śilappadikāram* (canto 17, l 7) to the supply of *glā* to the king's household in Madura in terms which remind us of Megasthenes' statement that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, which was apparently a tribute in kind, consisting of provisions for the daily consumption of the royal household.

Social life especially in cities like Madura had attained a high degree of refinement as could be seen from the literature of the age. It may be noted in passing that this literature was not always the work of poets who pursued poetry for its own sake. Minstrelsy was a profession, and the roving bards of the time were often not easy to satisfy, and sometimes exceedingly sensitive. We have already noted instances of princes penalized by the scarcely veiled imprecations of poets who felt they had not been hospitably treated. A song in the *Iṇṇanūru* contains a rather humble description of these organized bands of mendicants—some of them poets of real merit, some of them musicians with all kinds of quaint instruments, who moved about, with bands of female singers and dancers, from one little fortress to another, where their advent formed one of the few distractions of life for the chieftain, alternating with his hunting

expeditions and warlike raids¹. These chieftains were not always models of courtesy or liberality, and some of them must have deserved the censures they provoked.

The *Madurai-kāvi* which is a long poem of nearly 800 lines contain many little pen-pictures of great interest to the student of the social life of the age. We cannot do more than draw attention to a few of these here. The descriptions of fights and fortifications (e.g. ll. 64-7) show evidence of a fairly advanced stage in the art of warfare. It is interesting that the Parathavar are mentioned as specially noted for their heroism in war (ll. 139-144) and they perhaps supplied good recruits to Nedunjelīyan's forces. The account given of the port of Śāliyūr (in ll. 75-88) and its commercial activity strongly reminds us of similar accounts in the *Periplus* and of the mention of Yavana guards in the fortress of Madura in the *Śilappadikāram* and the frequent references to the use of imported foreign wines by kings and chieftains². Korkai is referred to as the centre of pearl fishing (ll. 131-8). The long description of Madura with her ditch, walls and gateways, her crowded bazaars more than usually busy on a festival day, her temples and her debating halls defies reproduction and is best enjoyed in the original. Courtesans played an important part in social life and were then, as in later days, the custodians of the arts of music and dancing (ll. 570-83). But family life is also depicted at its best in a tender sketch of the daily routine of matronly duties which shows few traits that cannot be recognized in family life at the present day. And the contrast between the gay and voluptuous courtesan and the faithful and loving wife cannot be better drawn than

¹ *Puṇam* 47 and Selections from G. U. Pope in *Tam. Ant.*, 1, 6, p. 68.

² Yavanas in *Śilappadikāram*, xiv, ll. 66-7 with which cf. *Mullappāṭṭu*, ll. 59-66, for foreign wines see *Puṇam* 56, ll. 18-21.

in the portraiture of 'Mādhavi and Kannaki in the *Śilappadikāram*. Some women were also known as poets while others followed a life of religious seclusion. Brahmins chanted the Vedas early in the morning and the musicians practised on their favourite instruments much as they do now.

There is no doubt that many of these pictures are drawn by the poets of the age in obedience to literary convention, but such convention must have been reared on a fairly solid foundation in the facts of contemporary life. In this brief sketch, our attention has been given mainly to a part of this literature that can be definitely referred to the Pāndya country. But the unity of Tamil life in the three kingdoms and the many principalities can only be realized by a more extensive study which cannot be undertaken here.¹

There appears to be no means at present of fixing the chronology of the Śāngam age more exactly than we have sought to do so far. We are in the dark as to when and how the period came to a close. The data that have been gathered together from the Śāngam literature may, one may venture to suggest, carry us to about the middle of the third century A.D. or perhaps a little later. When next the curtain rises, it is on a scene that belongs to the middle or even the end of the sixth century A.D. We thus seem to have in between these two periods, a veritable dark age of about three centuries of which we know nothing at present. Even the contemporary Pallava history of the age, into which we get some glimpses from various sources, seems to throw little light on the history of the extreme south.

¹ Still the best sketch is that of Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils*, ch. ix; but it is high time that another account which will keep more in touch with the sources of our information is attempted. There is scope for a good monograph on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSITION TO THE FIRST EMPIRE THE KALĀBHRAS

WE have no information as to the exact steps by which the transition was brought about from the conditions reflected in the Śāṅgam literature to those of the Age of the First Empire, as we propose to call it,—an age comprising roughly three centuries from, say, the beginning of the seventh century to the beginning of the tenth. And the great danger at this point of the story is the temptation to make hasty reconstructions by piecing together fragments from literature and epigraphy which at the first blush seem to have a connection with one another, but on closer scrutiny fail to support the superstructure they have been made to bear. Great impediments to a proper understanding of the records result sometimes from chance suggestions thrown out by authoritative scholars which are often repeated by their followers without the reservations with which they were originally given and occasionally even palpable errors are handed down as gospel.¹ In the present account no attempt will

¹ The brilliant epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya, did much good work on the Pāṇdyas. He always stated his results with caution. When he wrote, some mistakes were unavoidable in the study and interpretation of old records

be made to carry the story beyond what is exactly warranted by the state of our sources and the distinction will be carefully maintained between facts as such and subjective impressions. If in consequence we get an account which is discontinuous, that is unfortunately a result which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be helped.

which he handled for the first time. But his successors make a mistake when they fail to test his results independently for themselves before accepting them as established facts. But (1) Mr Venkayya must in some measure be held responsible for starting the habit of confusing different kings with similar names. Thus he said, 'The names Nedumāraṇ, Nedunjelīyan and Nedunjadayan are quite similar, and one is almost tempted to think that they must have denoted the same individual', and though he took care to add 'Beyond this similarity of the mere names we possess no materials for their identification' (*IA*, vol xii, p 65), some of his successors have not exercised the same caution—e.g. the so called Śelīyan of the Vēlvikkudi grant has been identified with Nedunjelīyan by Mr K V S Aiyar (see chap iii above). (2) Mr Venkayya also misread some of the names of the kings. He called Kadungōn's grandson Śelīyan Sēndan (*ARE*, 1907-08, p 51) in summarizing the Tamil portion of the Vēlvikkudi grant. Again, in the same summary, he called the father of Parāntaka by the name Tērmāraṇ, it is strange that Mr Krishna Sastri should have followed this reading of the king's name and perpetuated the mistake in his edition of the grant in *EI*, vol xvi. The king's name is only Māraṇ, *tēr* should be read along with the preceding *mān* as a compound adjective to the king's name. (See K G Sankara, *IA*, vol ii, p 214). By a similar mistake he recognized a Tēr Varōdayan besides Varōdayan in the *Iṟaiyanār Aḥapporuḷ* stanzas and identified the hero celebrated in those verses with his Tērmāraṇ (*ARE*, 1907-8, p 57). In this, however, Mr Krishna Sastri takes care not to follow him (*EI*, vol xvii, p 297). (3) Lastly he committed a somewhat serious error in the collation of the data from the larger Śinnamanūr and the Vēlvikkudi grants and working up the genealogy of the Pāndyas mentioned in these grants (*ARE*, 1907-8, pp 54-55). This has been set right in a large measure by Mr Krishna Sastri giving up the consideration which was the most vital in Venkayya's account of the matter, viz, 'that the Nedunjadayan of the Vēlvikkudi grant cannot be identical with his namesake of the Madras Museum plates, but that the former must be earlier than the latter' (see also T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Sen Tamil*, vol vi, pp 437-39). Gopinatha Rao's genealogy at p 154 of *Trav Arch Series*, vol 1, is inaccurate and insufficiently documented.

The chief records which furnish data on the genealogy and chronology of the Pāndyas of the First Empire are—

- 1 The Vēlvikkudī grant of Parāntaka Nedunjadayan
- 2 The Smaller Sinnamanūr plates
- 3 The Larger Sinnamanūr plates of Rājasimha
- 4 The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman
- 5 The two related Ānamalai stone inscriptions of Mīraṇjadayan (153 of 1906) and Parāntaka (454 of 1906), the latter dated in the Kalivuga era and yielding A D 770
- 6 The Aivarmalai Inscription of Varaguna dated in Śaka 792, i.e. 870 A D corresponding to the eighth regnal year of the King

The first thing to do with these records is to settle the genealogy of the dynasty with the aid of the copper plate grants which give particulars enabling us to do this and to assign these grants themselves to the respective kings to whose reigns they belong. It has been generally accepted that the Sanskrit portion of the Vēlvikkudī grant mentions only the last four names in the list contained in the Tamil portion which extends over seven generations and the last king Parāntaka *alias* Jaṭila of the Sanskrit part is identified with Nedunjadayan the last king of the Tamil part and corresponding identifications made in regard to the three preceding generations. It has also been generally accepted that this Parāntaka Nedunjadayan of the Vēlvikkudī grant is the same as Jaṭila, the second king of the Sanskrit portion of the larger Sinnamanūr plates—whose name has been unaccountably passed over in their Tamil part. But this arrangement leads to a duplication of kings with the same name for which there seems to be no warrant or explanation. On the other hand, if we identify Parāntaka Nedunjadayan of the Vēlvikkudī grant with Varaguna

Mahārāja of the larger Sinnamanūr plates, this difficulty is avoided. And we have ample support for this course. Parāntaka is coupled with Nedunjadayan by the Vēlvikkudī grant and with Māranjadayan i.e. Śādayan the son of Māran by the Ānamalai records, and the Trichinopoly inscriptions (413 and 414 of 1904) of the reign of Māranjadayan call the king Pāndyādhirāja Varaguna¹. By this identification of Parāntaka Nedunjadayan with Varaguna, not only is the perplexing duplication of Rājasimha avoided, but Varagunavarman and Parāntaka Vīranārāyana become the grandsons of Parāntaka *alias* Varaguna Mahārāja which seems quite natural. It also seems to me—this is only a personal impression—that the campaigns indirectly referred to in the Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguna Mahārāja² are best ascribed to Parāntaka Nedunjadayan of the Vēlvikkudī grant, who according to that grant fought and won battles on the banks of the Kāvērī early in his reign. One apparent objection to this course is found in the chronological indications given by our records and this has been held³ to be fatal to the arrangement of the genealogy of the Pāndyas suggested here, but we shall see presently that the difficulty, if there is one, is not insuperable. It may be well at this stage to give the genealogy of the kings as fixed by the identifications proposed hitherto.

¹ There can be no doubt that the *āgnapti* of the Vēlvikkudī grant is the same as the excavator of the Ānamalai temple and that consequently these two records belong to the same king. Mr Venkayya was inclined to ascribe the Trichinopoly records to Varagunavarman, the elder son of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, but he stated no reasons for his view which he said was only provisional (*A R E*, 1907, p. 53, para 21.)

² Edited by Venkayya, *E I*, vol. ix, pp. 84 ff.

³ See Mr K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Deccan*, pp. 103-4.

Madras Museum plates	Veludh plates	Smaller plates	Smaller plates	Smaller plates
	(1) Kadu A.D. 531-570			
	(2) " " A.D. c 620-645			
	(3) " " A.D. c 5670	1 Javan Varman		
	(4) " " A.D. c 670-710	2 Arilāra	1 Arilāra	Parāntaka
	(5) " " A.D. c 710-740		2 Jātala	
1 Māyāra Pallava	(6) " " A.D. c 740-765		3 Rājāsūmbha	
2 Jātala	(7) Jātala A.D. c 765-815		4 Varaguna Mahārāja	
			(8) 5 Śrī Mūra Śrī Vallabha A.D. c 815-82	
		(9) 6 Varaguna Varman A.D. c 862-880	(10) 7 Parāntaka Viranūrīyana A.D. c 880-900	
			(11) 8 Mūra Rājāsūmbha II A.D. c 900-920	

Before taking up the chronology of the period for discussion, something must be said about the smaller Śinnamanūr and the Madras Museum plates. These two sets are engraved by apparently the same scribe and this justifies the assumption that the records must be assigned to the same reign, especially as the writing in the smaller Śinnamanūr inscription is held to resemble

that of the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman.¹ But these considerations are not as conclusive as one would wish. It must be noticed that while the smaller Sinnamanūr plates make Arikēsari the son of Jayantavarman, the Vēlvikkudī grant is not so specific in the Tamil portion and indicates the relation between Arikēsari and Śēndan by the vague phrase ‘மற்றவாக் குப்பழிப்பினறி வழித்தோன்றி’,² and the Sanskrit portion of the Vēlvikkudī grant gives no help here as it begins only with Arikēsari. After some discussion, it has become clear that the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman too must be ascribed to Parāntaka Nedunjadayan of the Vēlvikkudī grant. Palæographical considerations

¹ See *ARE*, 1907, p. 52 and K. V. S. Aiyar (*op cit*), pp. 103-4. Nothing can be stated finally about the smaller Sinnamanūr grant. The grant is incomplete and the text is still unpublished. It is not known how many plates are missing. There is however just a possibility that the grant belongs to Kōccadayan (No. 5 of the genealogy in the text), the king who fought at Marūdūr, in which case the engraver may be taken to be the grandfather of the engraver of the Madras Museum plates. But there can be no doubt that Venkayya was strangely misled by vague palæographical considerations into ignoring the probability of the identity of Śēndan and Jayanta.

² Mr. Krishna Sastri gets over the difficulty by saying வழித்தோன்றல் means ‘son’, I am afraid that this gives no help in interpreting the expression quoted which is *not* வழித்தோன்றலாகி, but வழித்தோன்றி. Nor is Mr. K. G. Sankara’s suggestion that Arikēsari was the son of a daughter of Śēndan easy to accept. If, as is not unlikely, the smaller Sinnamanūr plates are earlier than the Vēlvikkudī grant and belong to the reign of Ranadhīra, then their evidence must be preferred to that of the Vēlvikkudī grant. But after all, it may be that the Vēlvikkudī grant itself is not in conflict with the Sinnamanūr plate. For some reason the Sanskrit part of the Vēlvikkudī grant begins only with Arikēsari and the Tamil part, for the same reason, may be taken to make a fresh start with this king, Arikēsari, though he was the son of the immediately preceding Śēndan (*E I*, vol. xvii, p. 365, n. 5 and K. G. Sankara, *I A*, vol. II, p. 213 and *Q J M S*, vol. x, p. 178). It may be noted in passing that nothing has turned up to justify Mr. Venkayya’s suspicion that the kings of the smaller Sinnamanūr and the Madras Museum plates may not belong to the main line of the Pāndyas (*ARE*, 1908, p. 55).

which were once held very strongly to militate against such a view have not stood the test of further criticism.¹ On the other hand, several weighty considerations can be urged in support of the view now taken of this grant. *First* several surnames of the ruling king occur in both

the grants. Such are Panditavatsalan, Vīrapurōgan, Vikramapārāgan, Parāntakan, Nedunjadayan and also Śrīvaran. The *biruda*, Kantakanisturan of the Vēlvikkudī grant is echoed by the phrase கண்டக சோதனை தான செய்து of the Museum plates. It is extremely unlikely that *all* these different *birudas* were common to two different kings. *Secondly* among the subdonees of the Vēlvikkudī grant is a Mūrti Eyinan who is specially mentioned (l 136). The *āṇapṭi* of the Madras Museum plates is a Dhīrataran Mūrti Eyinan who was a *mahā-sāmanta* of the king. There is reason to think that these two references are to the same person who may have been, as has been suggested on the strength of the Ānamalai records, a brother of Mārangārī who was the *ānatti* of the Vēlvikkudī grant and the king's *uttaramantra* when he excavated the Ānamalai cave.¹ *Lastly* the Vēlvikkudī grant ascribes an important victory against the Pallavas to Parāntaka's father Māran, or Māravarman Rājasimha as he is called in the Sanskrit portion, and the Museum plates ascribe to Jatīlavarman's father Māravarman the *biruda* Pallavabhanjana, and this surely may be taken to furnish a confirmation of the probability suggested by the two considerations urged above. It is thus clear that though there may be some scope for doubt as to the place of the smaller Śinnamanūr plates, it may be accepted as settled that the Madras Museum plates of Jatīlavarman belong to the reign of the same king as the Vēlvikkudī grant.

We may now turn to the chronology of the period. The best starting-point is furnished by the Anamalai inscription which is dated in the year 3871 (expired) of

¹ See *E I*, vol xvii, pp. 295-6

the Kaliyuga era = A.D. 770¹ We thus get a definite date in the reign of Parāntaka I *alias* Varaguna Mahārāja (No. 7 in the table given above)² Another datum which is equally definite is derived from the Ānāmalai record (705 of 1005) which gives Saka 792 = 870 A.D. as the eighth regnal year of a king Varaguna who must have come to the throne in A.D. 862-3. This Varaguna must have been Varagunavarman (No. 9) the grandson of Varaguna Mahārāja. And this has been held to be a serious objection to the scheme of identifications on which we have based the genealogy of these rulers. It has been said that 'we have only one sovereign between Nedunjadayan of about A.D. 770 and Varagunavarman who ascended the throne in A.D. 862, and we are obliged to give him a reign of nearly one hundred years which is absurd on the very face of it'³ But the situation is nothing so absurd, the interval is exactly ninety-two years, the Ānāmalai record may be ascribed to an early regnal year of Varaguna I and the reigns of Varaguna and his

¹ See *ET*, vol. viii, pp. 318 and 320.

² It further seems that Mr. P. A. Gopinatha Rao (writing sometime in 1910-13) should ascribe the Ānāmalai record to Kocēśvaran Rāmadhīra (No. 5 in our list), the grandson of Jayantavarman, this is simply impossible because the Māraṅgūri of the Ānāmalai temple appears as the *ānāpiti* of the Vēlvikludi grant in the fifth generation after Jayantavarman (Sēndan). After this start, he finds himself compelled (1) to ignore the Vēlvikludi grant in the learned discussion of the history of Māraṅjadayan which follows, (2) to oppose on palaeographical considerations Mr. Venkayya's suggestion that the Trivandrum Museum inscription which he edits must be ascribed to Varaguna Mahārāja, and (3) to enter upon an imaginary reconstruction of the Pāṇḍya, before Jayantavarman, to arrive at the date of Guṇasambandar and his contemporary Nedumāraṅ in the middle of the seventh century A.D. (See *Tamil Arch. Series*, vol. 1, pp. 153-7). But the only proper solution seems to be to identify Varaguna, Māraṅjadayan and Parāntaka—a course which fits in with palaeography and the place of Māraṅgūri in the king's reign as indicated by the Ānāmalai and Vēlvikkuḍi records.

³ K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Deccan*, p. 103.

successor Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha may have been exceptionally long yielding an average of forty-six years or a little more for each of the reigns. If a precedent is needed in support of this position, we may turn to Prof. Dubreuil who allows 113 years between the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Nandi of Tellāru separated by only one reign, viz that of Dantivarman ¹ There is thus no serious chronological absurdity involved in the assumptions we have made regarding the identity of the kings in these records. It may be accepted that Rājasimha II (No. 11) the last king in our genealogical table was the Rājasimha Pāndya who was defeated by Parāntaka I Chola early in the tenth century A D ² as this fits in well with the chronology of the age as derived from the Aivarmalai record. If we calculate backward from the Ānamalai record allowing, say, twenty-five years on the average for each generation we arrive at some date at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. for the accession of Kadungōn from whom our genealogy begins. Even the end of the sixth century may be accepted as possible. We thus see that the epigraphs we have been discussing at such length relate to the history of the three centuries from the beginning of the seventh century A D to the beginning of the tenth and this period we might call the Age of the First Empire. The period begins with a restoration and witnesses a rather wide extension of Pāndya power at the expense of the Pallavas who apparently had succeeded in dispossessing the Cholas of their ancestral dominions even before the Pāndya expansion began. It is marked by repeated contests between the Pāndyas and the Pallavas which is carried on right through these

¹ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p 66. See also T A Gopinatha Rao, *Trav Arch Series*, vol i, p 19, n 5.

² See *S I I*, vol ii, p 383, *verses* 9-11 and vol iii, p 386.

centuries with varying fortunes. It ends with the revival of Chola power under Vijayālaya and his successors and may be said to close with the attack delivered at the heart of the Pāndyan Empire by Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayālaya, who began his rule early in the tenth century A.D. It now remains for us to narrate in some detail the story of the age as we are able to reconstruct it, and then bring together such particulars about the social and political life of the period as we can gather from the contemporary records of the age. We shall attempt to do this presently, but, before doing so, we must give some consideration to the vexed question of the Kalabhra occupation of the Pāndyan country.

The Vēlvikkudī grant only says (ll 39-40), 'Then a Kali king named Kalabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings (*adhmājas*)' and tells us no more about it, although it refers to the Kalabhras in the plural and their brave ocean-like army (l 111).¹ Mr Krishna Sastri is inclined to accept the suggestion that Kali was the name of a dynasty of kings, Kalikula,² but nothing is known of such a dynasty yet and the mention of the Kalabhras in the plural in the Vēlvikkudī grant itself and elsewhere seems to point to a military tribe rather than a dynasty of rulers. We can only say that the Kalabhras overran the Pāndya country sometime after Mudukudumi's time, how long after we cannot say. 'How the Pāndyas were overcome by the Kalabhras, how long the sovereignty of the latter lasted and how they were driven back are points on

¹ The translation of ll 39 and 40 is Mr Krishna Sastri's. He seems slightly to misunderstand the word களாகமிலலா in l 111.

² *E I*, vol xvii, p 306, n 2, *contra*, Hultzsch, *E I*, vol xviii, p 260 who translates Kalikula into the people of the Kali age.

which no information is at present forthcoming' (Venkayya) It may however be noted that the Pallava king Simhaviśnu who stands at the beginning of an important line of Pallava rulers, just as Kadungōn does in the case of the Pāndyas, and whose accession has been placed at c. A. D. 575 by Dubreuil, also claims to have conquered the Kalabhras, and the date we have arrived at for Kadungōn is the beginning of the seventh century A.D. or even the end of the sixth century This raises the presumption that the Kalabhra occupation was a danger which threatened the independence of both the Pāndya and the Pallava dynasties and that these powers, either independently or in co-operation with each other, managed to throw off this incubus before they started on their long careers of expansion and success which so often brought them into collision with each other and lasted for close upon three centuries until the newly risen power of the Cholas of the Vijayālaya line gave them a check at the close of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries.¹

¹ Mr Venkayya made an attempt to clear up the story of the Kalabhra occupation from Mūrti Nāyanār Purānam in the *Periyapurānam* and the *Tiruvilaiyādal* (*A R E*, 1908, p. 53) But there is nothing in the *Purāna* except the mention of a Karnāṭaka king of Jaina persuasion ruling in Madura which can connect it with this age (See K. G. Sankara, *Q J M S*, vol. x, p. 178) Mūrti, not Kadungōn, succeeds the childless foreign ruler in the *Purāna* Judging by results, Venkayya committed a more serious mistake in suggesting the identity of Kalabhra with the Erumaiyūian, one of the opponents of the Pāndyan king in the battle of Talaiyālangānam and saying, 'it may be that Nedunjeḷiyan drove out from the Pāndya country the Kalabhras' (*A R E*, 1908, p. 53) This has led others to identify Nedunjeḷiyan with Jayantavarman, as we have seen before Mr T. N. Subramanian (*Q J M S*, vol. xii, pp. 304-6) makes a number of statements which are not easy to support from the evidence at our disposal He says 'From the analogy (in the Vēlvikkudi grant) it appears that the Pāndya line was unknown to the world while the Kalabhras ruled there Thus the evidence of the *Periyapurānam* that there was no Pāndya prince (1) left to succeed when a Kalabhra king died might

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST EMPIRE

WE have little information about the first two kings after the restoration, Kadungōn and his son Māravarman Avaniśūlāmani, whose reigns may be taken to have occupied the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A D. All that we know of them comes from the Tamil portion of the Vēlvikkudī grant and that is not much. The nearest approach to specific historical statements about Kadungōn is in the expressions தரணி மங்கையைப் பிராபால உரிமைத் திரவிதின நீகரித் தனபாலுரிமை நனகன மமைத்த (ll 43-44) which go to show that Kadungōn must have had an active share in putting an end to the Kalabhra interregnum and bringing about the restoration of his own dynasty, as he is said to have abolished by his strength the claim of others to the earth and established his own claim on a firm basis (நனசனம்). We hear even less about the reign of Kadungōn's son, Māravarman Avaniśūlāmani, who appears from the general expressions employed about him to have continued the work begun by his father and maintained his power at least as he inherited it though he did not perhaps add much to it.

The rule of Śēndan or Jayantavarman who succeeded his father Māravarman may be taken to have extended over, say, A D 645-70. He is praised for his prowess in war and for the justice of his rule. He also bears the name Vānavan which seems to indicate that he won some successes against his Chera contemporary. When we come to Jayantavarman's successor, who was most probably his son, our records become more helpful and mention specific incidents which can also be traced in the literary

sources relating to the age. This king is called Arikēsari Māravarman in the Vēlvikkudī and smaller Śinnamanūr plates and Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa in the larger Śinnamanūr grant. By the system of chronology we have adopted, this king must have come to the throne some time after the middle of the seventh century (670-710) A.D. In this reign began the great contest with the Pallavas who were rising to power, contemporaneously with the Pāṇdyas, in the northern part of the Tamil land. The Vēlvikkudī grant says of him that he won a victory at Pālī, that he conquered the vast forces of Vīlvēli in the battle of Nelvēli, and this statement is confirmed by the larger Sinnamanūi plates which say of him . 'அிலவரும நெலவேலி உமசிரி பொழிதசநகரமநு கைப பலவரும பிநசண்ட பரநகுசன' It is not now easy to identify these battlefields and no attempt can therefore be made to trace in any detail the campaigns so briefly recorded in the plates. It is extremely difficult to accept the suggestion that Nelvēli stands for the modern town of Tirunelvēli.¹ There are other achievements

¹ Mr Venkayya (*A R E*, 1907, Part II, para 20) arrived at the middle of the eighth century as the date for Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa and identified the campaigns of this king with those of Udayacandra, the Pallava general referred to in the Udayāṇḍiram plates of Nandivarman (*S I I*, vol II, pp 361 ff). The occurrence of the names Nelvēli and Śankaragrāma among the battles won by Udayacandra may seem to lend some support to this view. But apart from the objections we have urged against the whole system of Mr Venkayya's identifications, we may draw attention here to the following points which seem to render it impossible to follow him. (1) He allows only twenty years for each generation, an extremely short allowance to make in calculating by averages the chronology of an uncharted age. (2) In the revised genealogy he gives at p. 54 of *A R E* 1907 08, he separates the battles of Nelvēli and Śankaramangal and ascribes the former to the son of Śendan and the latter to his (son's) grandson--a course which is difficult to justify in the face of the Vēlvikkudī grant ascribing Nelvēli to the former definitely, and the Śinnamanūr plates coupling Nelvēli with Śankaramangal and ascribing them to an Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa whose identity remains to be made out. We could understand Mr Venkayya if he had at least repeated a second battle of Nelvēli among the later (his)

impression of a great expansion of power brought about by this king. The Paravas were no doubt the people on the south-east coast of the Pāndyan country who still continue to bear the same name. The Kurunādu which was apparently annexed after a conquest is not so easy to identify. And the campaigns against the Kērala king are narrated in a rather confused passage, and the text seems to be open to several alternative readings, none of which seems to render it possible to give a connected account of the campaign or campaigns referred to. And it is not clear against whom the fight at Śennilam was undertaken or where we have to look for Śennilam.¹ But amidst all this uncertainty, one large fact stands out clearly. It is evidently under this king that the Pāndyan power comes into collision, apparently for the first time in this period, with its neighbours the Pallavas on the north and the Kēralas on the west, and as important successes seem to have been won, we may take it that the Pāndyan kingdom extended its territorial limits in both these directions beyond its traditional boundaries. And this expansion of Pāndyan rule into foreign territory, that is, into territory lying outside the traditional limits of the Pāndyan country, remains a permanent factor in the history of the rest of this period, and leads us to describe it as the Age of the First Empire.

There is good reason for identifying this Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman with the celebrated Kūṇ Pāndya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandar. This saint is known to have been the contemporary of another saint Śruttondar and

¹ It may be suggested that Śennilam is not a proper name but that the word only means a battlefield and may refer to any or all the battles won by the king. But the text of the inscription (I 56, Vēlṟikkudī) and the references to Śennilam in the commentary to the *Agapporuḷ* leave quite a different impression on the mind.

to have converted to Śaivism the Pāndyan king who was thence regarded as a saint himself. This king is called Nīnraśīrnedumāraṇ, and Sundaramūrti in his catalogue of Śaiva saints ascribes to him the battle of Nelvēlī. The age of Śīruttonḍar was the time of the destruction of Vātāpī, the Chālukya capital, A D 642. These indications derived from the stories handed down in the *Periyapurānam* seem to confirm the system of chronology we have adopted for the Pāndyas of this period ¹. It may be noted in passing that there is nothing improbable in the story that the Pāndyan queen of this period was a Chola princess. The Cholas are not prominently mentioned anywhere in the records of this age, but they appear to have continued in obscurity somewhere in their original territory on the banks of the Kāvērī and it is likely they sought or were forced into matrimonial connections with the rising house of the Pāndyas ². Finally, we may say that there seems to be no ground for accepting the identification of this king with the hero celebrated in the stanzas of the commentary to the *Iravayanār Ahapporuḷ*.

¹ Sundaramūrti's *Tirutttonḍattogai*, st 8, ll 3-4, and *Periyapurānam* lives of the saints mentioned, Venkayya in *E I*, vol III, pp 277-8 and Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 67-8. Śīruttonḍar was older and Māra-varman Pāndya perhaps younger than Gnānasambanda.

² See *verse* 603 in the life of Gnānasambanda in the *Periyapurānam* and note that the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin (*verse* 30 quoted by Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p 37) connects the Cholas with Kāvērī even in this age. Mr Venkayya says also 'With the powerful Pallavas on the north and the strong Pāndyas in the south, the Cholas, who were hemmed in between the two, had evidently to be satisfied with a comparatively insignificant position.

The Chola capital was probably Uṛaiyūr during all this period and the tract of country subject to them must have been very small. The intermarriages with the dominant Pāndyas make it likely that the Cholas occasionally made common cause with them against the Pallavas who must have been looked upon as intruders' (*ASI*, 1905-6, p 178). There is thus no reason to accept the conclusion sometimes drawn from Yuan Chwang's itinerary that the Cholas were confined in this period to Cuddapah and Kurnool. *Contra*, K V S Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkan*, pp 112-3.

These stanzas indeed mention the battles of Pālī, Śennilam and Nelvēli and call the king by the titles, among others, of Arikēsari, Parāṅkuśan and Nedumāran. But there are several other battles mentioned, e g., Viḷṇāṁ of which we do not hear in epigraphy till late in the eighth century and this renders the proposed identification impossible to sustain ¹

• The son of Arikēsari Parāṅkuśan was Kōccadayan also called Ranadhīra. He must have succeeded his father at the end of the seventh century A.D. or early in the eighth. This king appears to have been a great warrior who often waged aggressive war against his neighbours. He is given the titles Vānavan, Śembiyan, Śolan which seem to imply some claim to supremacy over his Chera and the Chola contemporaries. He is also called Madurakarunātakan and Kongarkōmān and these titles do not seem to have been empty boasts but the index of substantial military achievements which appear to have had a wide range, for he is said to have attacked and subdued the *Mahārathas* in the great city of Mangalāpuram which seems to have been no other than the modern Mangalore ². It must, however, be noted that the

¹ See Krishna Sastri criticizing Venkayya in *E I*, vol xvii, pp 296-7. The view we take of this commentary has already been indicated. It seems to be utterly useless to the historian. The date of its composition must be later than the latest event mentioned in the illustrative stanzas, and the mention of Viḷṇāṁ will thus take it to the close of the eighth or early ninth century A.D. And it is quite possible that a rhetorical work like this took for its hero a saintly king of legendary fame, and attributed to him all the achievements of the Pāṇḍyan line of kings that the author could think of in his day.

² Dubreuil who did not have the text of the Vēlvikkudi grant before him quotes Mr. Venkayya's summary of this part of the grant and asks in astonishment, 'This victory at Marudūr, this ocean of enemies this *Mahāratha*, what are all these?' (*The Pallavas*, p 68). The suggestion he makes in the next paragraph on the same page that Kōccadayan must have fought against Chālukya Vikramāditya I when the latter was encamped near Trichinopoly is hard to accept in the face of the definite statement in

of battle. In a highly ornate passage the Tamil portion of the same grant ascribes to him a series of victories at Neduvayal, Kurumadaḷ, Mannikuricci, Tīrumangai, Pūvalūr, Kodumbālūr and another place (whose name is not legible) and then says that the Pallava king was deprived of his splendour at Kuḷumbūr where the Pāndya captured numberless elephants and horses from his enemy's forces. There seems to be little room for doubt that here we get the Pāndyan version of the campaigns which led to the siege of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in Nandiḡrāma by the Tamil princes which was raised by the victorious general of the Pallava King, Udayacandra by name, who won several successes against his foes as narrated in the Udayēndiram plates of Pallavamalla. Dubreuil has suggested that the Pāndya king espoused the cause of a son of Paramēśvaravarman II who was kept out of his throne by the usurper Nandivarman Pallavamalla and that this Pāndyan interference in Pallava disputes may be traced to a marriage connection which Kōccadayan contracted with a Pallava princess.¹ However that may be, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Māravarman Rājasimha Pāndya I was the contemporary and opponent of Pallavamalla. Now, turning to his campaigns elsewhere, we find that he defeated his foes at a place called Periyālūr and crossed the Kāvēri to bring about the subjugation of Maḷakongaṃ which has been located on the borderland of the modern Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts.² The Maḷava king who was reduced to

¹ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 68-9. M. Dubreuil seems to assume that Ariḷēṣari Parāṅkuṣa's son was a Parāntaka, but he was only a Jatila according to the Sanskrit part of the larger Śīnnamanūr plates. It may also be noted that Neliḷi seems to have been fought by the Pallava king against a Śabara king Udayana, and only at Mannaiḷkudi is Udayacandra said definitely to have faced the Pāndyan forces.

² See K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dehkan*, p. 129.

subjection gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāndyan king. From the Maḷava country Rājasimha proceeded to Pāndikkodumudī where he 'worshipped the lotus feet of Paśupati and gave away with great pleasure heaps of gold and lustrous gems'. This perhaps means that the conquests of the Pāndyan king extended up to Kodumudī. We also learn that he contracted relationship with the Ganga king. The details of this transaction are given later on in the Vēlvikkudī plates in narrating the achievements of Mārangārī, the *āṇapṭi* of the grant. We learn that this Mārangārī was aided by Pūrvarājar (eastern kings) in a big fight at Venbai in which the powerful Vallabha king was beaten when the Ganga princess was secured and offered in marriage to the Pāndyan prince who is referred to as Kongarkōn and who may have been the son of Rājasimha by the Maḷava princess. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the political transactions referred to in this account. Mr. Krishna Sastri has observed, 'The information that a Ganga princess was married with the Pāndya family is not mentioned in any of the Ganga records of this period which falls into the reign of Śivamāra I (A.D. 755-65). The Vallabha or the Western Chālukya king who was defeated on this marriage occasion was probably Kīrtti-varman II, who succeeded to the Chālukya throne in A.D. 746 or 747, and whose army is stated in his records to have defeated the army of the Kēralas, the Cholas and the Pāndyas'.¹ It is clear that much still remains

¹ *E I*, vol xvi, pp 295-6, *contra* K G Sankara, *Q J M S*, vol x, p 180, who treats the Māḷava princess as identical with the Ganga princess, i.e. holds मलवेन्द्रकन्या of l 24 = கங்காரசனது கன்னியா ரத்தினம் (l 127)

Dr. S K Aiyangar seems to identify Pūrvarājar with the Pallavas and treat Venbai as a decisive incident in the long duel between them and the Chālukyas (Introduction to *The Pallavas of Kānchi*, by R. Gopalan)

to be explained before we can make a clear story out of these references to the *ambriden* with the Gangarāja.

This king Rājasimha is also said to have performed many *Gopasahas*, *Hraṣṭasahas* and *Talābhāras* and to have relieved the distress of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. He is also reported, lastly, to have renewed Kūḍāl, Vanni and Kōḷi. If this is a reference to the three capitals of the Pāṇḍyas, the Cheras and the Cholas, the power of Rājasimha must have been very great indeed.¹ His rule may be taken to have extended from about A.D. 740 to about, say, five years before A.D. 770 which was definitely in the reign of his successor, and corresponded to some twenty years later than the third in his reign.²

This successor was the son of Rājasimha by the Malaya queen and the donor of the Vēlvikkudi and the Madras Museum plates. These records together with the Ānamalai and Trichinopoly inscriptions give him the names Iṭṭaḷ, Pūntika, and Varaguna Maharāja besides Māraṇḍayān and Nedunḍavan. It is possible

to give an unusually complete account of this king's reign. His inscriptions range from the third regnal year (Vēlvikkudī) to the forty-third (at Īrvādi, 605 of 1915) and it may well be that he reigned for nearly fifty years, say A.D. 765-815. Very early in his reign he won a victory against the Pallava who was either Nandivarman Pallavamalla or some representative of his, at Pennā-gadam, on the south bank of the Kāvēri. This place would appear to have been somewhere near Tanjore.¹ He also suppressed with a firm hand a local rising of Nāttukkuṟumbu headed by Āy Vēl.² In the third year of his reign, Mārangārī of the Vaidyakula of Karavandapura (Kalakkād in the Tinnevely district) must have held an important place under the king, if he was not already *uttaramantiri* (chief minister), as he figures as the *ājnapiti* in the Vēlvikkudī grant. We have seen that he had a part in bringing about the marriage alliance of the ruling family with a Ganga princess in the previous reign. This same Mārangārī *alias* Madhurakavi built a stone temple for Viṣṇu (*Śilāgīham, Karṛali*) in the Ānamalai hill, six miles to the east of Madura and made a gift of a rich *agrahūra* in the neighbourhood to the Brahmins evidently on the occasion of the setting up of the image of Narasimha in the temple. This was in A.D. 770 and Madhurakavi seems to have died soon after. His brother Māraṇ Eyinan who also became *uttaramantiri* perhaps succeeding to the position held by

¹ K V S Aiyar, *op cit*, p 133 points out that inscription No 314 of 1907 locates the village in Tānjavūr Kūrram. Inscription No 51 of 1895 of the fourth year of Māraṇjadayan at Tillaisthānam near Tiruvaiyūr may be taken to confirm this. But see *A R L*, 1906-7, p 53, para 21.

² The Vēls seems to have been local chieftains somewhat resembling the feudal barons of mediæval Europe. The Tamil Śaṅgama dictionary under *Vēlir* quotes the *Abludānacintāman* and calls them குடிநில மன்னர். Nāttukkuṟumbu may be Kuṟumbanūḍ as suggested by Mr H K Sastri.

and it would appear that much of the fighting was undertaken against the same old foes as had opposed his father in his northern wars. There is some reason to believe, however, that the victory of Nedunjadayan was at many points more complete than that of his father and that his campaigns had, speaking relatively, somewhat more permanent results. He fought at Vellūr, Vinnam and Śēḷiyakkudī against foes about whose identity nothing is known. He put to flight Adigan of the bright lance in the two battles of Āyiravēḷi Āyirūr and Puḡaḷiyūr on the north banks of the Kāvērī and captured his chariot together with several of his war horses. In his war against the Pāndya king, Adigan was aided by the Pallava and the Kērala whose forces advanced from the east and the west and were repulsed with great loss by the opposing Pāndyan forces. Evidently as a result of these campaigns, the king of Western Kongu was captured with his elephants and sent into confinement within the walls of the Pāndyan capital Madura and the whole of the Kongu country came under Pāndyan rule. It is well known that a family of chieftains named Adigans or Adigamāns ruled from Tagadūr (Dharmapurī)¹ in the Kongu country. We may take it that the Adigan who was repulsed at Āyirūr and Puḡaḷiyūr was a feudatory of the Western Kongu chief who fought against the Pāndya on behalf of his master and the appearance of the Kērala and Pallava forces in the campaigns may be explained as the result of a combined effort of the other three chief powers of the Tamiḷ land to set some limit to the growing aggression of the Pāndyas.² The coalition

¹ See *E I*, vol vi, p 331, also *A R E*, 1906, part II, para 34

² Mr Venkayya (*I A*, vol xii, p 66) is inclined to identify Adigan with the Western Kongu king captured and imprisoned at Madura. But lines 25-34 of the Museum plates when carefully analysed seem to support

apparently failed and as a result there was a considerable extension of the territories under Pāndyan rule. This extension seems to have been sufficiently permanent to allow the king to undertake the construction of a temple of considerable size (குன்ற மன்னதோரா கோயில்) to Visnu in a place called Kānjivāyppērūr which seems to have been in the Kongu country.¹ Perhaps the inscriptions at Trichinopoly (414 of 1904) and Ambāsamudram (105 of 1905), dated in the eleventh and the sixteenth years of the king may be taken as records connected with the wars we have just described. The Trichinopoly inscription refers to the destruction of Vēmbil and the king's encampment at Niyamam in the eleventh year. The Ambāsamudram record contains a gift made five years later from the king's camp at Araśūr on the banks of the Pennai in the Tondainād. It may be mentioned, by the way, that though this king is called '*paramavaiśnavan*' in the Museum plates and builds a temple to Visnu in Kānjivāyppērūr, he does appear to have been quite ready to encourage Śaivite temples and endow them richly.² The Trichinopoly

better the reconstruction suggested in the text. *Re* Tagadūr, see *A R E*, 1901, p. 5

¹ Mr Venkayya was naturally in great difficulty in 1893 when he tried to identify the places mentioned in the Madras Museum plates. But he spent great ingenuity over the names Kankabhūmi and Kānjivāyppērūr and tried to connect them with Tirukkalukkuṇṇam and Kānchīpuram (*IA*, xxi, pp 66-7). All this was of course wrong. Kankabhūmi in the context only stands for some distant land up to which the fame of the Pāndyan king reached and has nothing to do with 'Kites' or the Ganges. See e.g., under 'Kanka' in Fleet's Topographical List, *IA*, xvii, p. 180. Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao has drawn attention to the mention of 'கொங்கு கருகிவாய்ப் பெருா' in the *Periyapurāṇam*, v. 88 in *Ēṭarkōṇ kalik kāmānāyanūr Purāṇam*. I am, however, unable to trace the presence of even the ruins of a Visnu temple in this place, if it is identical with Pērūr in the Coimbatore district.

² Cf. Venkayya (*IA*, xvii, pp 64-5), who makes a similar inference from the salutation to Brahma, Visnu and Śiva in order in the Madras Museum plates.

and Ambāsamudram inscriptions just referred to may be quoted in evidence of this, a record of the thirteenth year of the king (155 of 1903) found at Tīruccendūr mentions a considerable endowment from the proceeds of which the cost of regular worship in the temple of Kumāra all the year round was to be met. Yet another inscription of the thirty-ninth year (104 of 1905)^c records the gift of three lamps to the god Tīruppōttudaiya Bhatārar of Ambāsamudram.

The Museum plates also mention that Nedunjadayan conquered the king of Venād (South Travancore) and captured large numbers of his elephants and horses along with his treasures and his country. In the campaign that led to this annexation, the strongly fortified port of Viḷiñam was attacked and destroyed by the Pāndyan forces. Viḷiñam seems to have been a great and flourishing emporium which often roused the cupidity of the foreign invaders of Travancore, it would appear to have recovered rapidly after each disaster that befell it, for we find it still forming the subject of attack by the Chola emperors three centuries after the days of Nedunjadayan. The first conquest of Venād thus referred to in the Museum plates must have taken place before the seventeenth year of the king's rule. It was soon after this conquest that the king undertook the task of strongly fortifying Karavandapuram (which has been identified with the village of Kalakkād in the Tinnevely district) perhaps because it was on the frontier of the newly conquered country. At any rate Venād does not seem to have accepted this conquest as final, and we have evidence in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription (277 of 1895) that the king was still fighting^o in the neighbourhood of Viḷiñam more than ten years after his first invasion. It may also be noted that another

inscription found at Kaḷugumalai (13 of 1908) records an expedition in the twenty-third year of the king's rule in which he went against Śadayan Karunandan of the Malaiṁādu and destroyed Aṁviyūrkkōttai which evidently belonged to this mountain chief on the present Travancore frontier.¹ This Karunandan appears to have been a member of an ancient family of Āy chieftains associated with the Podiṁa mountain and perhaps friendly to the kings of Venād in the period of their struggle against the Pāṇḍya expansion.

No records of any fight undertaken by the king after the twenty-seventh year have come down to us. But there seems to be no reason to doubt that he reigned for nearly fifty years, though it is not easy to decide such questions beyond the reach of doubt, we may ascribe to this king the inscriptions (863 of 1917 and 605 of 1915) of the forty-second and forty-third years of Māraṇjadayan found respectively at Kaḷugumalai and Ērvādi. There is reason to believe that this king was among the most powerful of the rulers of the Pāṇḍya dynasty in this age, and it was perhaps under him that the territories under the rule of the Pāṇḍyas attained a great and permanent extension by his successes in the Kongu country and in the Vēnād. The sway of Parāntika Neduṇjadayan extended far beyond Trichinopoly into the Tanjore, Salem and Coimbatore districts, and all that lay south was also under him.

One very interesting question, which is as elusive as it is interesting, that is connected with the name of

¹ See T. A. Gopinath Rao in *Trav Arch Series*, vol. i, pp. 3-5. His arrangement of the Pāṇḍyas of course differs from that followed here. But there seems to be little difficulty in the way of ascribing the Kaḷugumalai record to our king. Mr. V. Rangachari seems to have misunderstood No. 43 of 1908 (see p. 1465, entry No. 250 of his *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*).

Varaguna is that of the date of Mānikkavāśagar. Before the discovery, about 1906, of the larger Śinnama-nūr plates and other records there was only one Varaguna known, and that was the king of the legend of the vision of Śivalōkam in the *Tiruvilaiyādal*. And this reference to a Varaguna did not help very much in deciding the age of the Śaiva saint who refers to the king in the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, but since two Varagunas became available to history from the new epigraphical finds, several scholars have, with great eagerness, sought to fix the age of Mānikkavāśagar by identifying the Varaguna mentioned by him with one or the other of these kings. But it does not seem that this epigraphical short cut to the date of this saint is in any way better supported than that other effort to fix the age of the Śangam from the references in the Vēlvikkudi grant which we have seen no reason to accept as satisfactory. But it is not possible to pursue the question of the age of Mānikkavāśagar at any length here, it can only be stated that there are serious difficulties in the way of assigning Mānikkavāśagar to the reign of either of these kings in the eighth or the ninth century A.D. and that the Varaguna Pāndya referred to in the *Tirukkōvaiyār* must still be taken to be the Varaguna of legend about whom, as yet, we do not know anything more than is contained in that story¹

¹ See Venkayya in *E I*, vol. ix, p. 89 and M. Srinivasa Aiyangār, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 401 ff and contrast, Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar in his Introduction to the *Tiruvālavāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyādal*, first edition, pp. 66-7, who supports an early date by a number of weighty literary references, also Messrs K. G. Sesha Aiyar and Ponnambalam Pillai in the *Tamilian Antiquary*. The arguments of Mr. Sesha Aiyar seem to be complete as a refutation of the epigraphists' position, and Mr. Pillai approaches the question of the date of the saint from a different standpoint, that of the Christian Church in Malabar.

Minor considerations apart, the main points in the question seem to be the following. Mānikkavāśagar does claim that the miracle of the

transformation of foxes into horses was performed by Śivan on his account (நமை ஆண்டான்) in *Tiru Ponnūsal*, l 45, also *Tiru Ammānai*, ll 17-18, • *Tiruvārttai*, ll 14-15 and *Ānadamālai*, ll 25-26, to save him from the consequences of his master's wrath. And Appar, by general consent the earliest of the three *Tēvāram* hymnists, does refer to this miracle and also to a *Vācaka* in a manner which seems to leave no room for doubt that it is a reference to our saint. Then there is the fact that in all the traditional lists of Pāndya Kings, the contemporary of Māṇikkavāṣagar is placed several generations before Kūṇ Pāndya, the contemporary of Gṇānasambandar. It must also be noticed that Māṇikkavāṣagar's life and history occupy a rather earlier, and perhaps more conspicuous place in the cycle of the Madura sports of Śivan and that it has not been possible to recognize so far any clear epigraphical references except to the last of the kings in the lists given in the different versions of these stories. It seems a natural inference from all this that Māṇikkavāṣagar, the antagonist of Buddhism, was older than the saints of the age of Sambandar whose chief contests appear to have been with the Jains.

The chief argument against this conclusion has generally been found in the absence of any reference to Māṇikkavāṣagar in the catalogue of Śaiva saints (*Tiruttondattogai*) given by Sundaramūrti, who may be taken to have lived within a century of Gṇānasambandar, the contemporary of Arikēsari Parāṅkuṣa in the late seventh century. This may have been an accident, and at best an argument from silence cannot be pressed far. But Mr Sesha Aiyar has pointed out with great plausibility that the expression 'பொய்யடிமையிலலாத புலவர்' in Sundara's list of saints does refer to our saint as it fits in very well with the traditional history of his life and doings. Those who hesitate to accept this suggestion are influenced by the authority of Nambi Āndār Nambi and his successors, who have regularly followed him in interpreting this expression as a reference to the poets of the Madura Śaṅgam. Great as must be the authority of Nambi and his successors in matters of religion and theology, I have no hesitation in declaring with Mr Sesha Aiyar that the history involved in their interpretation of the *Tiruttondattogai* seems to be, much of it, wrong. The point is that continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite compatible with a break in secular historical tradition. For an illustration I may refer to the case of another saint in the list, Śeruttunai, who is spoken of as a king of Tanjore by Sundaramūrti, Nambi makes no mention of his having been a king at all, evidently because in his day nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore, and a little later, Śēkkilār in his *Periyapurāṇam* actually makes a Vaiśya (வேளாண்முடி முதலவர்) of this king of Tanjore.

My conclusion therefore is that Māṇikkavāṣagar must be taken to have preceded the *Tēvāram* Trio and that once more epigraphy, despite the great advances it has made in recent years, fails to establish the large claims made on its behalf in the matter of settling beyond possibility of doubt the chronology of early South Indian History.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST EMPIRE —(*Continued*)

THE son and successor of Parāntaka Nedunjadayan *alias* Varaguna was Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha whose reign may be taken to have extended from, say, A.D. 815 to A.D. 862. He also had the birudas *Ēkavīra* and *Paracakrakōlāhala*. All that we know of this king is derived from the larger Śinnamanūr plates. From the way these plates begin to furnish rather important historical data from this point onward, it would almost appear that the composer of this inscription had the Vēlvikkudi grant before him and avoided, by design, dwelling on the events already recorded in that grant. However that may be, what we learn about Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha goes to show that he succeeded not only in maintaining the power handed down to him by his father, but even found it possible to extend it to Ceylon. The Sanskrit part of our record tells us that this king brought the whole world (a hyperbole for S. India?) under the protection of his umbrella and became well-beloved of his subjects (*Prēma-pātram prajānām*) after defeating in battle such diverse foes as the Māyāpāndya, the Kērala, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha. The Tamil portion confirms this and adds further that the king won victories at Kunnūr and Viḷiñam as well as in Ceylon, and that he repulsed with great loss a confederation of Gangas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalingas, Magadhas and others who offered battle at Kudamūkku or Kumbakonam. This victory would appear to have greatly increased the king's military reputation and furnished the occasion for the high-sounding title *Paracakrakōlāhala*.

We seem to have no means of elucidating the references to the victory over the Kērala and the fight at Vīḷiṇāṁ except by supposing that trouble from this quarter seems to have been more or less permanent and that the western country never reconciled itself to the yoke of its Pāndya neighbour. It is however possible to say something on the references to the conquest of Ceylon and the victory at Kudamūḷḷu over the Pallava. The evidence of the *Mahāvamśa* confirms in some measure the statement in the Pāndya grant regarding the conquest of Ceylon.¹ According to that chronicle there was a Pāndya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of the Singhalese king Sēna I. The Pāndyan victory in the battle fought at Mahatalita was complete 'and the army of king Pāndu spread destruction all over the land'. The Singhalese king fled from his capital and took refuge in the Malaya country. Prince Mahinda, the 'sub-king' committed suicide and was followed by others in this act and prince Kassapa, after an exhibition of personal valour, also fled. The Pāndya forces took possession of the capital, carried away a large amount of booty 'and made Lanka of none value whatsoever' and eventually the Pāndya king entered into a treaty with the fugitive king of Ceylon restoring the country to him. After this, the chronicle records a counter-invasion of the Pāndya country by the Singhalese in the reign of their next king Sēna II. And this throws some light on the Māyāpāndya, the Pāndya pretender of the Pāndyan inscription. When Sēna II was preparing for

¹ A summary of chaps 1 and 11 of Wijesinha's translation is given by Mr Venkayya at pp 55-6 of *A R E* for 1907-08. It may be noticed here that M. Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 70-71 in his account of these transactions considers only chap 11 of the Ceylon accounts.

a counter-attack on the Pāndyas, 'it came to pass that at that very time a prince of the royal family of Pāndu was come hither, having formed a design to overthrow that kingdom because he had been ill-treated by his king' (li. 27). Sēna II allied himself with the rebel Pāndya prince and invaded the mainland and succeeded in besieging the very capital of the Pāndyas. The king of the Pāndyas 'fled from the field of battle on the back of an elephant, and gave up his life in the wrong place And his queen also died with him at the same time' (li. 38) 'The Singhalese took possession of the city, crowned the Pāndya prince who had sought their help and returned to Ceylon with a large amount of booty including the treasures carried away by the Pāndyas when they invaded Ceylon' (Venkayya)

This narrative of events given in the *Mahāvamśa* cannot all of it be accepted as history. First as to chronology. The traditional dates for Sēna I and Sēna II are A.D. 846 to 866 and A.D. 866 to 901. We have assigned to Śrīmāra, roughly, A.D. 815-862 so that the counter-invasion from Ceylon would fall in the reign of the successor of Śrīmāra, but it is not possible to accept this arrangement, if we propose to identify the Pāndya prince who appealed to Sēna II and the Māyāpāndya who was conquered by Śrīmāra. It has been pointed out that a correction of twenty-four years must be introduced into the *Mahāvamśa* chronology of this period in the light of the established dates of South Indian history with special reference to the early Cholas of the Vijayālaya line.¹ This correction will give the dates

¹ See Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 70-71, Hultzsch in *J R A S*, 1913 does not discuss chaps 1 and li, a rather strange omission in an otherwise complete study of the synchronisms between Singhalese and South Indian history

822 to 842 and 842 to 877 roughly for the reigns of Sēna I and Sēna II and thus reconcile the chronology of the narrative in the *Mahāvamśa* with that of Śrīmāra's reign as fixed by independent evidence. But then there are other difficulties as well. The Pāndyan side of the evidence makes the ruling king successful in repelling a Māyāpāndya and thus keeping his throne to himself at the end of the struggle, the Ceylon account makes out a disaster of the first magnitude to the Pāndyan kingdom from the story of the counter-invasion undertaken by Sēna partly in support of the Pāndya prince. There is no possibility of reconciling these accounts, one of them must be rejected as untrustworthy. Now, on the face of it, it seems impossible to suppose that such a serious disaster befell the Pāndya power in the reign of Śrīmāra and that the Sinnamanūr plates suppressed the truth or deliberately gave a false account of the reign. On the other hand, the *Mahāvamśa* is a highly embellished and poetic account of the history of Ceylon.¹ And one cannot help feeling that in this chapter of the *Mahāvamśa* some transactions belonging to a later age (twelfth century A D.) have been repeated perhaps to take off the edge from the story of the conquest of Ceylon by the Pāndya king, narrated a little earlier. When we come to the Pāndyan civil wars of the twelfth century in which Ceylonese kings often interfered, we shall see that the *Mahāvamśa* persistently colours the account favourably to the Ceylonese kings and commanders. Our conclusion, therefore, is that Śrīmāra did carry out a successful raid against Ceylon and that he repulsed the attempt at retaliation brought about partly by the

¹ See *IA*, vol xxxv, pp 153 ff, for translation of an important criticism of this book and other Ceylon chronicles by Geiger

intrigues of an impostor, about whose identity nothing is known at present.¹

¹ Mr Venkayya remarked (p 56, *A R E*, 1908) of Śrīmāra 'As he is also said to have conquered Māyāpāndya, who must have belonged to his own family, there is enough evidence that there were internal dissensions among the Pāndyas already in his reign', and in this he has been followed by M Dabreuil But I do not think that Māyāpāndya means 'a person belonging to the Pāndya family', if anything it means just the contrary, and does not support the inferences of Venkayya about internal dissensions which are far-fetched indeed We cannot of course get any light on this matter from the Ceylon account, for any impostor, to make himself accepted in Ceylon, must have claimed kinship with the Pāndya ruling family Venkayya again is not any way more fortunate in his attempts to identify this Māyāpāndya He says (*ibid*) 'In this connection it is worthy of note that the relationship of No 11 (my number 9) Varagunavarman to his predecessor is not given in the Tamil portion of the larger Sīnmananūr plates, while the Sanskrit portion of the same plates mention the relationship only indirectly No 12 (my number 10) Parāntaka is said to have been the younger brother of Varaguna and the son of Śrīmāra Consequently it is not impossible that it was Varaguna who sought help from the Singhalese in order to secure the Pāndya throne' Mr Venkayya appears in this case to have relaxed his usual standards about evidence in his anxiety to discover the identity of Māyāpāndya His whole argument turns upon the Tamil portion not mentioning the relationship of Varagunavarman to his predecessor and the Sanskrit portion mentioning it only indirectly The Tamil portion not only fails to mention relationships, in other cases, but omits all reference to Jatila Parāntaka, the Sanskrit portion mentions the relationship, but only 'indirectly' I am unable to see any logic in the inferences made by Mr Venkayya from this supposed 'indirectness' Personally I am of opinion that much trouble might be avoided if the epigraphists give up the habit of treating the integral parts of one inscription in different languages as altogether different inscriptions There is enough indication in the inscription that Varagunavarman ruled in his turn and enjoyed a fairly prosperous reign This is the text

‘குரைமுறகா லரசிதைஞ்சுக் குவலயந் தனதாகுகிந வரைபுரையு மணிநெடுந
தோள மன்னாகோன வரகுணவாமஹம்’

But Mr Venkayya is not himself satisfied with the result he arrives at He continues 'There is still another alternative No 12 Parāntaka is said to have seized a certain Ugra, apparently in the battle of Kharagiri It may be that this Ugra was a Pāndya prince with whom the former had to fight for the throne' This makes matters worse This Parāntaka did not reign till after his brother's defeat at Śrī Purambiyam, his brother ruled at least eight years from the close of his father's reign, and it is not clear how anything that took place in the reign or just before the accession of Parāntaka II can throw any light on the identity of Māyāpāndya whom his father dealt

When we turn next to study the circumstances of Śrīmāra's success at Kudamūkkū, we get some light from the Pallava records of the period. Two facts are established beyond the range of doubt. *First*, Kudamūkkū is Kumbakonam as this name is given to the place in a record of the eighth year of Māraṇjadayan, most probably, Śrīmāra's famous father. *Second*, the Pāndya power was in this period fairly well established in the heart of the Tanjore district though there were frequent conflicts with Pallava forces across a shifting frontier in this direction,¹ the permanence of the Pāndya occupation of this territory being shown by the presence of many Pāndya inscriptions of this period in several places in the Tanjore district. From the provenance of the inscriptions of Nandivarman III it seems to be a reasonable inference that this contest continued through his reign with varying fortune. It seems not unlikely that the famous fight from which Nandi came to be known as Tellareṇḍa Nandi occurred in the course of these

with years before. The fact is, we know at present nothing more about both Māyāpāndya and Ugra than what is mentioned of them in the Śīnna-manūr plates and it is best to say so.

Mr Venkayya also adds 'If the story of the *Mahāvamsa* be true, the discontented Pāndya prince whether he was Māyāpāndya or Ugra Pāndya must have been on the Pāndyan throne for sometime before he was replaced by No. 12 Parāntaka'. I am unable to concede that the story of the *Mahāvamsa* is true or that there was an interruption in the regular succession recorded in the Śīnna-manūr plates. See however, K V S Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkan*, pp. 140-1 who identifies Ugra with the protege of Sēna II.

¹ I may note here that I am not following M. Dubreuil's arrangement by which Varaguna is made the opponent of Nandi at Tellāru c. 830 A.D. If the opponent of Nandi at Tellāru was a Pāndya, as perhaps he was (see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 79-80) then he must have been Śrīmāra. It may also be observed that Dubreuil seems to exaggerate the significance of Tellāru when he writes that 'this glorious campaign enabled him to reign peacefully not only at Kāñchī but also on the banks of the Kāvēri'. The poetry of the *Nandikkalambakam* should not be mistaken for history. *Contra* Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 137.

contests, and that in that battle Śrīmāra was the opponent who was beaten in the fight with Nandi. This must have been somewhere about A.D. 830. The victory of Kudamūkkū won by Śrīmāra against the Pallavas and their confederates must then be taken to fall in Nandivarman's reign. It seems quite natural to connect this battle mentioned in the Pāndya inscription with another that is referred to in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga-varman¹ who was the successor of Nandi of Tellaṟu and came to power about A.D. 854. In the Bāhūr plates it is

¹ I follow the text of Mr Krishna Sastri as amended and translated by Gopinatha Rao, see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 47-50. But the verse is not easy and there is no means of controlling the readings. Dr Hultzsch in his recent edition of the plates in the *E I*, vol xviii, pp 5 ff writes 'Of him (Nṛpatunga) verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāndya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Aricī river. It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nṛpatunga allied himself with a Pāndya king and undertook an expedition into the domains of the Chola king', and the text and translation as given by him support these statements. Looking at the verse from the Pāndyan side, it strikes me that Mr Rao's translation supported by Mr Sastri's text is the more probable, because (i) there seems to be little room for a Pāndya-Pallava alliance in this period, (ii) the Cholas actually figure as the allies of the Pallavas in the Śinnamanūr plates and (iii) it seems probable that in verse 16 (Bāhūr) Kudamūkkū of the Śinnamanūr plates is referred to as having taken place before the accession of Nṛpatunga (*purā*) and mentioned as a sort of introduction to the reprisal that followed under Nṛpatunga on the banks of the Aricī. It may also be that Nṛpatunga fought as a prince before his accession.

M Dubreuil (*The Pallavas*, p 71) may or may not be right in supposing 'that the Pallava Nṛpatunga profited by the invasion of the Pāndya kingdom by the Singhalese', but he is clearly misquoting *verse 17* of the Bāhūr plates in support of his theory of the alliance of Nṛpatunga and Sēna II, which, he says, 'seems to be confirmed by the Bāhūr plates which say that Nṛpatunga's fame had spread *beyond the seas* as that of Rāma' (italics mine). The text is '*Khyāto na Kēvalam Bhumāvamuṣṁinnapī Rāmavat*' = famed not only on earth, but in other worlds like Rāma. I am also unable to follow him when he says that Śrīmāra was defeated at Kumbakonam in the face of the definite statement in the Śinnamanūr plates that Śrīmāra repulsed a great confederation of his foes at Kudamūkkū. See also his remarks under Nṛpatunga at p 81 of his *Pallavas*.

said 'The army (of the Pallavas) which on a former occasion sustained defeat at the hands of the Pāndya, was, by the grace of this king (Nrpatunga, i.e. by being led by him), able to burn down the hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdoms on the bank of the river Aricit' From this reference it is not clear whether Nrpatunga's victory was won after he became ruler in his own right or earlier. Nor do we get any indication as to the interval between the defeat of the Pallava forces at the hands of the Pāndya and the retaliation under Nrpatunga on the banks of the Aricit. The use of the phrase 'on a former occasion' with reference to the Pāndyan victory seems however to make it necessary to postulate some interval between the two engagements. We may conclude then, that if Nandi of Tellāru began his reign with a victory against Śrīmāra, he lived long enough to sustain a defeat in his turn at Kudamūku in spite of the fact that on this occasion he seems to have been supported by several of his allies, the tide turned once more against the Pāndya on the accession of Nrpatunga whose youthful success at the Aricit—the river Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvērī which enters the sea at Karaikkāl,¹ is recorded in the Bāhūr plates as we have seen.

The reign of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha then appears to have been a mixed record of success and failure. The advent of an impostor to the throne, apparently aided in his rebellion by the Ceylonese troops, and the two defeats at Tellāru and the Aricit at the hands of the Pallavas are evidence that the empire has begun to

¹ Hultzsch, *E I*, vol. xviii, p. 7. The fact that the Ariśil also passes near Kumbakonam may have led M. Dubreuil to identify the battles of Kudamūku and Aricit, but we have no indication in the plates as to the site of the battle on the banks of the Aricit.

strain the resources of the Pāndya country, and the operations at Vīḷiṇṇam may perhaps be accepted as proof that the conquered lands are not settled on a permanent basis and may assert their independence at the earliest opportunity. But there is no reason to doubt that Śrīmāra was a strong ruler who found it possible in the midst of so much trouble to maintain his power intact and hand it down at his death to his elder son Varagunavarman whose accession can be placed definitely in A.D. 862.

About this Varagunavarman we learn nothing more than his name from the Śinnamanūr plates. The only fact that can be referred to his reign with any amount of certainty is his fighting a great battle at Śrī Purambiyam and losing it. It may also be that a record (690 of 1905) of Māranjadayan which incidentally mentions an expedition against Idavai also belongs to the time of this ruler.¹ Idavai has been identified with a village of the same name in the Chola country referred to in Chola inscriptions of a slightly later date. At the battle of Śrī Purambiyam the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati lost his life.² The latest date known for Prithivīpati³ is A.D. 879, so that the battle of Śrī Purambiyam must be placed about A.D. 880 at the earliest, and Varagunavarman must be taken to have reigned at least up to that date. Now the last incident we noticed in the long duel between the Pāndyas and their neighbours in the north, the Pallavas, was the battle of the Aricī. After that battle Nṛpatunga would appear to have had a peaceful time with the Pāndyas who were for the rest of the reign

¹ See *A R E*, 1907, p. 54 and 1906, p. 53. *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 142. But his reasoning is not conclusive.

² See *A R E*, 1906, p. 47 or *E I*, vol. ix, pp. 87-8.

³ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 82.

of Śrīmāra and for several years' after the accession of Varagunavarman apparently compelled to recognize the position Nṛpatunga had established for himself by his early success. It is also interesting to observe that it was during this period that Vijayālaya captured Tanjore and made the city his own and it is not unlikely that the Cholas and the Pallavas were on friendly terms in this period as the Śinnamanūr plates imply. After the death of Nṛpatunga, when his successor Aparājita came to the Pallava throne about A D 880, it would seem that Varaguna made an attempt to reassert the waning power of the Pāndyas in Cholamandalam and Tondainād. The expedition against Idavai may well have been directed against the rising power of the Cholas. The king then ruling was probably Āditya I, the son of Vijayālaya, who came to the throne almost at the same time as his Pallava contemporary Aparājita. This attack on Idavai was apparently successful and Varaguna was enabled to carry his arms further north. The Pallava king Aparājita was aided on this occasion by his Ganga feudatory Prithivīpati I and the opposing forces of the Pāndya and the Pallava had an encounter at Śrī Purambiyam identified with Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbakonam.¹ In this

¹ See *A R E*, 1906, pp 47-8. I am unable to follow Mr Gopinatha Rao in his statement 'It is known from other records that Āditya and the Pāndya King Varaguna marched against the Pallava, Nṛpatunga Varman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājita Varman, defeated and killed him' (*E I*, vol xv, p 49). But see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp 83-4. I believe inscription No 337 of 1912 does not mean that the Cholas were the friends of Varaguna. The appearance of the Cholas among the opponents of Śrīmāra at Kudamūkkū and the expedition against Idavai strongly support the view that the Cholas were the friends of the Pallavas and the foes of the Pāndyas till the battle of Śrī Purambiyam. Again, as Dubreuil points out, if Aparājita is only a pseudonym of Nṛpatunga, there would be only one battle, that of Śrī Purambiyam. Then we shall have to assume that at this battle Aparājita was beaten by Āditya as mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra, but this is contradicted by the Udayēndiram

battle although the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati I lost his life, still victory was with Aparājita and the Pāndya advance was rolled back. It may be that Aditya I (the Chola) was also on the side of Aparājita and was able to get for himself some of the territory gained by the confederates on the repulse of the Pāndyan invader. All this must have been in A.D. 880 or very soon after.

Varagunavarman does not appear to have long survived the defeat at Śrī Purambiyam. He seems to have died childless and was followed on the throne by his younger brother Śrī Parāntaka *alias* Vīranārayana Śadayan. Three verses in the Sanskrit part of the Sinnamanūr plates state (i) that he captured single-handed the haughty Ugra near Kharagiri together with his elephants whose tusks were reeking of the blood of opposing forces killed in battle, (ii) that this pious king endowed many *agrahāras*, and numberless *dēvasthānas* and *tatākas*, and (iii) that he had for his queen Śrī Vānavan Mahādēvī who resembled Laksmī and Indrānī, the consorts of Viṣṇu and Indra. The Tamil account generally confirms these statements and says further that he destroyed Pennāgadam and fought in the

plates of Prithivīpati II which state that victory in Śrī Purambiyam was with Aparājita and that Varaguna was beaten in the battle. The verse may be quoted

य. श्रीपुरंबियमहाहवमूर्ध्निधीरं पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहस्राविजित्य ।

कृत्वार्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवंजगाम ॥

It is not likely that, if Varaguna was beaten, and Āditya was his friend in this battle, Āditya got the whole of the Pallava country or even a part of it as a result of this fight. On the other hand if Āditya helped Aparājita in his victory, he might have claimed a share of the spoil and later on proceeded to make the other attack which transferred the Pallava dominions to him as the Tiruvālangāḍu plates imply. And this, in my opinion, is what happened actually. I am unable to see why Dubreuil must place Śrī Purambiyam in Nṛpatunga's reign or 'admit that Nṛpatunga was killed in the battle of Śrī Purambiyam' (p. 83).

Kongu country It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt to elucidate the battle of Kharagiri, the destruction of Pennāgadam and the fight in Kongu. The last two events may be taken as some evidence that, though hard pressed by its foes, the Pāndya power was still struggling to maintain itself in foreign lands And the name of the queen suggests that she was a Chera princess, and it may be tentatively assumed that the name of Śeravanmahādēvi, a flourishing little town adjacent to the railway station Shermadevi in the Tinnevely district, has some connection with the name of this queen Perhaps this marriage is also some indication that, for one reason or another, the reign of this king was marked by happier relations with the Chera kings than was usual in this age. We may assign conjecturally the last twenty years of the ninth century as the period of this king's rule

Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa was succeeded on the throne by his son by Vānavanmahādēvī, Māravarman Rājasimha II, the donor of the larger Śinnamanūr plates, the discovery of which has meant the recovery, to a very large extent, of the Pāndya history of this period This grant is dated in the sixteenth year of the king's reign and it is likely that he reigned some years after. His rule may therefore be taken to have extended from about A D 900 to about 920 or a little later The Sanskrit part of the record of the king's reign though it comprises four fair-sized ślohas contrives to tell us just nothing about the king or his achievements as a ruler The Tamil account vies with the Sanskrit in fulsome flattery of the king, but happens to mention a few facts But the obscurity of the diction and the gaps in the text render it extremely difficult to be sure of the ground With this caution, it may be noted that a battle at

Ulapplimangalam is mentioned, another fight with Tanjayarkōn (the king of Tanjore) and perhaps also an attack on Vanji¹. We learn also that the king had the titles—Vikatapātava, Śrīkānta, Rājaśikhāmani and Mandara Gauṇava. Among his foundations are mentioned numberless *Paḷḷucandams* which seem to be Jain temples or endowments in their favour.

Rājasimha II, however, may be surely identified with the Pāndya King Rājasimha who is said to have been beaten by the Chola Parāntaka I (*vide* the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II²) and this fact enables us to get some light on his fortunes from the records of the contemporary Chola monarch. This king Parāntaka I Chola came to the throne in A.D. 907.³ Before his

¹ It will be observed that Venkayya's summary of the reign mentions only that the king defeated the Chola (p. 51 of *ARE*, 1907). He is perhaps right in the caution he observed. The text I have been using of this inscription is that given by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar in the *Sen Tamil*, vol. xxiii. When I applied to the Government Epigraphist for a transcript of the text he had with him, I got the strange reply that the copy could not be given as it was undergoing publication in *SII* (Texts) series.

² *SII*, vol. ii, p. 383.

³ *ARE*, 1906, p. 51, para 21 for the date of accession of Parāntaka Chola. See *ARE*, 1907, pp. 58-9 for the wars of Parāntaka against Madura, a masterly account by Venkayya. Also Hultzsch in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 524-6 partly based on Venkayya. My version of the wars given in the text does not differ materially from Venkayya's. The changes I am inclined to make are (i) to base the 1st war only on the reference in the *Mahāvamsa* and the probabilities suggested by Inscription No. 29 of 1907, dated in A.D. 910 (See *ARE* 1911, part ii, para 4), (ii) to treat the entire series of stanzas in the Udayēndiram and Tiruvāṇṇāṇḍu plates as references to the second war of Venkayya, (iii) to follow Hultzsch in making the 'unsuccessful effort to obtain the Pāndya crown, etc., from Ceylon an event of the last years of Parāntaka's reign. Mr. Venkayya seems to have thought that Maduraiyum Ilamum-Konda was a brand new title justified by a fresh attack on Madura and Ceylon together, but this strikes me as an unnecessary assumption. The title Madurai-konda might simply have changed to Maduraiyum Ilamum-Konda, after the invasion of Ceylon. I may add also that when he proposes to date the third war of Parāntaka against Madura towards the close of his reign and apparently c. 943 A.D. *ARE*, 1907, p. 59, he seems to be forgetting the inscription No. 63 of 1905 found near Madura and dated in the thirty third year of Parāntaka to which he

accession the Chola power under Aditya I had risen into some prominence by important successes against the Pallava Aparājita who seems to have lost the bulk of his territory to his new foe. It is not unlikely that Aditya, late in his lifetime, undertook a campaign against his southern neighbour and that this campaign furnished the occasion for his son calling himself Madhurāntaka or Maduraikonda. This title of Parāntaka appears as early as the third year of his reign, A D 910. The Pāndya king Rājasimha had to look about for allies and he turned to Ceylon. The ruler of Ceylon at the time was not unwilling to aid the Pāndya king and sent an army to the mainland. Rājasimha, so reinforced, made an effort to retaliate on the Chola power and invaded the Chola country, and thus began the second war which Parāntaka fought against the Madura troops. A decisive battle was fought at Vēlūr (a place not identified) and the defeat of the Ceylon and Pāndya forces was complete. The Udayēndiram plates say of Parāntaka Chola 'His army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāndya king, together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhura. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the lord of Lanka, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Samgrāma Rāghava (i.e. "Rama in battle") which is full of meaning. When he had defeated the Pāndya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time (Kuvēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend, (and) Vibhīšana on account

had drawn pointed attention two years previously (*A R E*, 1905, p. 42)

See also *A R E*, 1926, part II, para 16

of the proximity (of the Chola dominions to Ceylon).¹ The Tiruvālangādu plates are no less explicit and more graphic in the account they give ¹

This was the ruin of Rājasimha and the empire that had been reared by generations of his ancestors Madura was lost and Rājasimha had to flee to Ceylon. There he made pitiful efforts to regain his fortune and, if we may follow the *Mahāvamśa* account, which is confirmed by the later Chola inscriptions of Rājendra I, Rājasimha after some fruitless waiting despaired of gaining anything by his stay in Ceylon, left behind his crown and other regalia (*thāpetvā makutādīni*) and betook himself to the Kērala country, the home of his mother Vānavanmahādēvi (*gato Kēralasantikam*). Such was the end of the First Empire of the Pāndyas, whose political fortunes we have traced through these two chapters. These last scenes may be placed about A.D. 920

Parāntaka I Chola made an attempt late in his reign to capture the Pāndya's *makuta* from the Ceylonese ruler and failed (c. A.D. 943), but this was actually accomplished later by the more fortunate Rājendra.

¹ यस्य प्रतापदहनेन परीयमाण स्तत्तापशान्ति मिवकर्तुमनास्सवेग ।

सद्यस्समुद्रमविगन्निजराजलक्ष्मीं पृथ्वीं कुलक्रमगताच्च विहायपाण्ड्य ॥

यस्यकोपदहनो दहन्दिदृशान्तिमाप न समुद्रवारिणि ।

शस्त्रकृत्तहतसिंहलाङ्गतानेववारिणि शमञ्जगाम च ॥

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST EMPIRE—(*Concluded*)

THE history of the Pāndyan kingdom in the period between the restoration after the Kalabhra occupation and the fall of Madura before Parāntaka early in the tenth century, as made out by us so far, cannot by any means be regarded as either final or complete. Only the barest outlines of the story have been traced. Many points have had to be left unsettled, others have been noted as points for future study in the light of further evidence that may become available. We have also had to pass by a large number of stone inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Māran Śadayan and Śadayan Māran which undoubtedly belong to this period, but cannot with certainty be assigned to particular rulers. If we know so little about the main line of the Pāndyas, our knowledge about their subordinates and feudatories is even more limited. Passing references have been made already to the local chieftains known as Vēls, of whom the chiefs of the family of Ay seem to have enjoyed a long spell of power and influence in the mountainous country between the Tinnevely district and Travancore. The Adigans of the Kongu country also felt the strength of the Pāndyan kings and were forced for a time to acknowledge their supremacy. Somewhat more prominent than these chieftains seem to have been the Muttarayar¹ who have left behind several epigraphical records which have only been partially studied till now. It is certain that these rulers held large portions of the

¹ I have not entered into the details of the records of the Muttarayar. Mr K V Subramanya Aiyar discusses the Śendalai records very well in *E I*, vol xlii, pp 134 ff and Mr Gopinatha Rao in *Sen Tamil*, vol vi, pp 6 ff *ARE.*, for 1899, pp 5-6, and 1907, p 54 are still useful.

Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and possibly parts of Pudukkottah for several generations and that the centre of their power was somewhere in the district of Tanjore. Śendalai, at present a small village near Tūukkāttupallī, appears once to have been a flourishing town with the beautiful name Candralēkhā, and either this place or Niyamam in its neighbourhood was most probably the centre of Muttaraya rule. There is even now in existence a village by name Muttaraśanallūr within five miles of Trichinopoly. It is well known that a Perumuttarayan is mentioned twice in the *Nāladīyār*. The inscriptions from the Śendalai pillars mention three continuous generations of the Muttarayar, the last of them was Śuvaran Māran *alias* Perumbidugu Muttarayan who claims to have fought at many places on behalf of the Pallavas and against the Pāndyas. There is also a curious coincidence in strange *birudas* between these rulers and the Pallava kings — examples are Perumbidugu and Vidēlvidugu. These facts might lead one to suppose that these rulers were the subordinate allies of their Pallava contemporaries. On the other hand, there are other facts which seem to make it necessary to modify this conclusion. First, some kings of the Muttaraya line date their records in their own regnal years (18 of Ilangō Muttarayan in No. 12 of 1899 from Śendalai). Secondly, one inscription (10 of 1899) which records a gift by a servant of a Muttarayan is dated in the tenth regnal year of Māranjadayan. And lastly, there is a gift by the queen of a Satrubhayankara Muttarayan recorded in a stone inscription in the Tinnevely district and dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Śadayan Māran (421 of 1906). In fact at one stage it was even supposed that the Muttarayar were a branch of the ruling house of the Pāndyas and emphasis was laid on the recurrence of

the name Māran among the Muttaraya kings. But the facts set forth above indicate clearly that no simple hypothesis is likely to furnish the key to the true history of these chieftains. The best way of reconciling all the known facts about the Muttaraya seems to be to suppose that they held their sway for several generations in the debatable land between the Pāndyas and the Pallavas and ruled, either independently or in subjection to the Pāndyas or the Pallavas, in accordance with the trend of contemporary politics. It is unfortunate that no definite and detailed conclusions can be arrived at regarding the history of these rulers and the part they played in the story of South India. But the conjecture may be accepted that when Virayalaya recovered Tanjore for the Cholas, he must have taken it from a Muttaraya chief. The Sendalai inscriptions call one of them the lord of Tanjai and Vallam.

Before leaving the period of the First Pāndya Empire, as we have called it, an attempt may be made to bring together a few facts relating to the social and religious life of the age. We know very little of the details of government and administration, and the few references we get to Uttaramantrins and Mhīsamantas have been noticed under the reign of Jatula Parāntaka above. We have a reference to an officer in charge of the elephants, under the name Mutangajādhyaksa in the Madras Museum plates and this, together with a reference to Irumalai Virar and Parāntaka Virar in an inscription of the forty-second year of Māranjadayan from Kalugumalai,¹

¹ Inscription No. 863 of 1917. Mr. Krishna Sastri (*J R L*, 1918), says that the reference to Parāntaka Virar suggests the time of the father of Rājāsīmha, the donor of the Sinnamanur grant. I do not know if he had any difficulty in signing this record to Parāntaka I Pāndya and I do not think that Parāntaka II reigned a many as forty-two years. I have therefore treated the record as belonging to the earlier king.

is about all that we can gather on the military organization of the state in this period. One wonders if names like Parāntaka Vīrar are designations of particular regiments or groups of soldiers. There does not seem to have been any rigid distinction between the civil and military services under the government, and in Mārangārī we get the instance of a versatile officer who was famed alike for his services in war and as Uttaramantri and who was besides poet and orator. It seems likely that an expeditionary army was composed of troops brought together from several parts of the country each under its own leader, and we have instances of such leaders or the king himself, setting up permanent memorials celebrating the heroism of particular soldiers who distinguished themselves above their compeers in war. Thus from the Kaḷugumalai record which refers to the expedition against Śadayan Karunandan (43 of 1908) we learn that two soldiers did well in the storming of a fortress (கோட்டை அழித்து நன்று செய்து பட்டாரா) before they fell, that they were in the household service (உள வீட்டுக் கோயிற சேவகா) of one Mangala Enādi *alias* Ettimannan, and that this Enādi¹ made an endowment for the merit of these two soldiers named Vinayantoḷu Sūran and Śāttan Nakkan. And again, the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription of the twenty-seventh year of Māraṇjadayar (277 of 1895), is a record of the fall of another warrior by name Ranakīrti in the service of the king before the fortress of Kāraikkōttai, and as this Ranakīrti is said to have been a very loving servant of

¹ Mr T A Gopinatha Rao says 'Enādi corresponds to the European knighthood. The recipient of this honour must be the commander of an army and must have distinguished himself in the battlefield. The king adorns such a worthy soldier with a signet ring and confers upon him the title of *Enādi*. See the commentary on eighth sutra of Purattiṇaiyiyal, Poruḷadikāram, Tolkāppiyam,' *Trav Arch Series*, vol i, p 4, n 9.

the king, it is not unlikely that the king himself caused this stone to be set up and engraved.

The kings as a rule seem to have been very generous patrons of learning and the arts. The few long epigraphs of this age that have come down to us furnish, by their poetic merit, clear proof of the high state of literary culture in the Sanskrit and Tamil languages in the Pāṇḍya country and are evidently compositions of court poets who were regularly maintained by the kings. The names of some of these composers of *prāśastis* have been preserved in the records. These compositions which are recorded in the copper plates which register the more important royal grants are, as we have seen, the most important source for the general history of the rulers of this age, but they also furnish information on several minor matters of considerable interest to the student of social life. We learn very casually from the Madras Museum plates that there was a colony of Brahmins from Magadha, and that they had a separate *grāmaṃ* set apart for them by name Śabdālī and this may be accepted as some evidence that the south of India was in those days not isolated from the north as is sometimes thought. We are able to trace the prevalence of two subordinate divisions adapted evidently to local administrative purposes. One of them is referred to as *nādu* or *kūrṇam* and the Sanskrit part of the Śinnamanūr grant even applies the term *rāstra* to the same division. The *nādu* seems to have been the connecting link between the kingdom as a whole and the smallest unit of local administration which is referred to usually as *grāmaṃ*. The names of *grāmaṃs* usually end in *mangalam*, *kudī* and *ūr* and occasionally in *vayal*. The forms observed on the occasions when kings made gifts of whole villages are very interesting and deserve

some notice. The gift is always a *dānam* in the religious sense and is expressed usually by the phrase, நீரோட்டடிககொடுத்தான, which the Sinnamanūr plates render into *ambupūrvam*. The boundary of the village to be given away was generally fixed by following the beat of a female elephant that was let loose for the purpose as is indicated by ‘மன்னவனது பீணியால் வடிவமையப் பிடிசூழ்ந்தான’ of the Madras Museum grant and *karēnu sancāra vrbakta sīmā* of the Sinnamanūr grant, and the boundary was marked by stones and live fences of *kallu* (எலலை யகத்துக கல்லுங் களளியும் நாட்டி) and also clearly recorded in writing. The grant was invariably engraved on copper plates and a high officer of state was entrusted with the task of drawing up and recording the *ānatti* or royal order in proper form. It is curious that the scribes are generally the *Perumbanaiikkārans* of the kings making the grant.¹ All the gifts, when they did not go to temples, seem to have been in favour of Brahmanas and the lands so granted to Brahmanas had a recognized legal status *brahmadēyam*. This status is expressed in set phrases of which the following from the Madras Museum grant is a good example ‘பிரமம தேயமாகக் காராணமையும் மீயாட்சியும் உள்ளடங்க ஸாவபரிஹாரமாக நீரோட்டடிக குடுக்கப்பட்டது’ *Kārānmai* and *Mīyāṭci* are technical terms as can be seen from the Sanskrit part of the Sinnamanūr plates which keeps the terms as such in the phrase ‘*Kārānmai mīyāṭci yutam samastam*’. We have at present no means of fixing the exact

¹ Mr Krishna Sastri does well in not translating this term in his edition of the Vēlvikkudi grant and thus declining to follow Venkayya's lead in rendering it into ‘chief drummer’. பனை has other meanings besides ‘drum’, one of which is ‘a row of horses’. May பெரும்பனைக்காரன் mean chief cavalry officer?

meanings of these terms. But as *Kāṭānmaṭ* seems etymologically connected with cultivation and *Mīyāṭṭi* likewise with supervision and control, we may not be far wrong if we take the terms to indicate the rights of tenancy and landlordship respectively.¹ The clear renunciation of all the rights of the donor contained in the phrase *sarvapaṇihāramāka* must also be noticed. When the gift has been completed the king generally requests his successors and every one that comes after him to respect his *dāna* and this request is reinforced in the records by suitable quotations from the sacred laws (*Smṛti*) of the land. One circumstance recorded in the Vēlvikkudī grant is of considerable importance and it is unfortunate that the meaning of the text here should not be clearer than it is. The conditions under which this grant was made are very peculiar. The donee claims that Vēlvikkudī was granted to his ancestors by an ancient Pāndya king Kudumī and that this gift was cancelled by the Kalabhra interregnum and that this ought to be restored to him. It is strange that this man should have waited for seven generations after the Pāndyan restoration to reclaim the grant and at that late day should start by quarrelling with the king over the matter (*ākṛōdḥukka*). What followed must be related in the words of the grant 'என்று நின்றவன விஞ்ஞாப பியஞ்செய்ய நன்றுநனறென்று முறுவலிதது நாட்டானின் பிழமையாதல காட்டிநீ கொளகவெனை, நாட்டாறநன பழமையாதல காட்டினாளுகப் பொழுதேய.' Evidently here the king does not seem to have at first taken the petitioner seriously, he laughed at his impudence and perhaps thought it an easy way of dismissing the petition by demanding a proof (நாட்டு) of the original gift and

¹ Cf V Venkayya, *I A*, vol. xxii, p 74, n 89

of the antiquity of the petitioner's rights, but strangely enough, the proof was produced then and there, and the king forthwith renewed the gift. The difficulty lies in our inability to understand நாட்ட in the passage cited above¹. But most probably it was only a general term for satisfactory evidence. And the evidence that was produced in this case was most likely a written document which had just been found by the petitioner on the strength of which he made bold to press his suit in the manner indicated.

The *grāmam* was the unit of local administration as pointed out before, and there are enough indications to show that as a rule it was well able to take care of its affairs and that it inspired confidence in the king of the country by efficiency and rectitude in its conduct of affairs. An inscription from Tīrucchendūr (26 of 1912) tells us that the king Varaguna Mahārāja distributed among sixteen villages a large endowment he made to the local temple for meeting the cost of service in the

¹ See K. G. Sankara in *I. A.*, vol. 11, p. 215. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai was surely wrong if he assumed that oral evidence was in question here. I am unable to accept Mr. Krishna Sastri's translation of நாட்ட into ' (by a reference to) the district (assembly) '. நாடு does mean ' district ' as I have pointed out above and this explanation of நாட்ட as the instrumental of நாடு will be plausible if we had clear proof otherwise, which we do not have, of the existence, at this period, of such district assemblies. But this is not the only difficulty. If it was a reference to the district assembly, that ought to have been found easier to make soon after the Pāndya restoration under Kadungōn than so many generations after him, and we do not say why the petition was not made earlier. Again the proof must have been such that (1) it was missed for long, (2) it was capable of production before the king at a moment's notice, and (3) it must have been so conclusive as evidence that the king was ready to accept it on the spot without any further enquiry. The phrases in the text of the grant clearly imply all this. And these conditions are best satisfied by a written document like a copper plate grant—what shall we not pay to get this plate if that were possible! I therefore propose to follow Mr. K. G. Sankara and make நாட்ட the instrumental of நாடு *der* from நாடு = fix, establish

kaḷanṇu of gold for the regular supply of *ghī* for the burning of four perpetual lamps and five other lamps in the temple of Tirumalai Bhatārar. This endowment was placed in fixed deposit with the Nagarattār of Śīrṅambar, and its proper administration was vested in the Pati of Śīrṅambar and the servants of the temple as trustees—(இவ்வொட்டின் பரிசுநெய் அட்டுகிப்பதற்கு அமைநது புனைப்படடோம சிறறமபாபதியும் பாதமுலத்தோமு).¹ It may well be that the Nagarattār of Śīrṅambar were a corporation of merchants in the place, but it is not possible to say who the Pati was. He might have been the head of the corporation of merchants or a royal officer. The analogy of the Iḷangōkkudī-ccavaī vāriyam points to the former alternative. It is very interesting to see that the *kaḷanṇu* mentioned in this record is the same as the gold *kāśu*, the coin being apparently described by its weight here,² we cannot however be sure of the exact weight of the *kaḷanṇu* itself in those days. A record in some respects more interesting than these

¹ Mr Venkayya, *AS I*, 1903-4, p 276, makes பாதமுலத்தோம the servants of the Pati I have followed the analogy of the Ambāsamudram inscription in my rendering, as there seems to be no point in mentioning the servants of the Pati as trustees after mentioning the Pati himself as one

² The conclusion is the result of a simple calculation from the data given by this and the Ambāsamudram record 'Two *nāḷis* of *ghī* were to be given every day for four lamps to be maintained from the interest (பொன்) on 120 *kaḷanṇu* (Trichī inser), the Ambāsamudram records give the information 1 *nāḷi* of *ghī* = 50 *nāḷis* of paddy 'This will give 60 *nāḷis* of paddy every day as the cost of the service, this makes 2/3 of a kalam (=15 *kururis* = 90 *nāḷis*, Venkayya in *E I*) per day or roughly 240 kalams per year of 360 days, which is just the interest on 120 *kaḷanṇu* (*kāśu*) at the prevailing rate of 2 kalams per annum per *kāśu* (*Kaḷanṇu*) 'This conclusion, it must be noted, casts a doubt on Venkayya's rendering of பாடிக்கலலால் in the Trichinopoly record into 'weighed by the standard of the district' If the calculation made in this note is accepted, it will be proof that the same standards prevailed all over the Pāndya country at the time, which is not unlikely, in such matters as the weight of the standard coin and the interest on perpetual royal endowments to temples

comes from Mānūr in the Tinnevely district and it is dated in the thirty-ninth year of Māranjadayān. If this Māranjadyān were the same as Varaguna Mahārāja, as probably he is, then the record may be assigned to about A.D. 800 and would thus precede the famous Uttiramallūr records of the time of Parantaka I by well over a century.

This fact deserves to be stressed a little as this inscription contains a record of rules for membership in the *S. S.* of the village which have been summed up¹ as follows by the official epigraphist (Madras) in the *Annual Report for 1912*.² It is stated that of the children of shareholders in the village, only one, who is well behaved and has studied the *Mottra Brāhmanā* and one *Dīkṣit* (i.e. Clerk of Law) may be on the village assembly (*śāstrā*) to represent the share held by him in the village and only one of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *śrīdhāna* (through his wife), (2) that (shares) purchased, presented or acquired as *śrīdhāna* could entitle one, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies, and in no case will quarter, half or three quarter membership be recognized, (3) that those who purchase shares must elect only such men to represent their shares on the assembly, as have critically studied a whole Veda with its *pūristas*, (4) that those who do not possess full membership as laid down by rule (2), cannot stand on any committee (*vṛttam*) for the management of village affairs, (5) that those who satisfy the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose (in the proceedings of the

¹ In the paragraph *A. R. L.*, 1913 (part II, para. 23) containing this summary it seems to me that the epigraphist combines sources in order to make a picture of village administration which is, in essence, not a faithful reflection of our sources.

assembly) by saying "nay, nay" to every proposal brought up before the assembly and (6) that those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine of five *kaṣṣus* on each item (in which they so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same rules.' It is a pity that twenty years after the discovery of this inscription, its text should not be available for scholars. But even the abstract given above contains enough to show the importance of the record. Other inscriptions which have been reviewed here tell us generally of the existence of village assemblies and of their carrying on their work through committees. And this Mānūr record may be taken perhaps as giving a type of the constitutions of village assemblies in this period in the south of the Pāndya country. Membership in the assembly was regulated by qualifications of property and learning very much as in the well-known inscriptions from Uttiramaḷlūr (Chingleput) of the early tenth century A.D. There seems to have been no election to the assembly, but all important property interests were represented on it. This seems to have made the *sabha* a rather unwieldy body in which the transaction of business with reasonable despatch could only be secured by somewhat drastic rules against organized obstruction on the part of sections of the members. We learn nothing however as to the method of appointing the committee (*vāriyam*) of the assembly which formed the executive of the assembly; each in its respective sphere of work.

We may now turn to a brief review of the state of religious belief in the period of our study. We have seen that in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the Śāṅgam age, Buddhism, Jainism and Brahminism flourished in the Tamil land. The central feature of the development that followed in the succeeding centuries

was the determined effort made by the exponents of Brahminism in its various forms to suppress the heretical sects of Buddhism and Jainism, an effort which was apparently marked by greater success against the Buddhists than against the Jains. Yuan Chwang writing in the middle of the seventh century A.D. deplores the decay of Buddhism in South India and envies the prosperity of the Jains. We can also trace many survivals of Jainism to a comparatively late age. At Ērvādi in the Tinnevely district there was discovered a squatting Jaina figure and engraved below it is a small inscription, in *Vatteluttu* characters of about the eighth century A.D., which reads 'Work of Ajjanandi'. This Jaina teacher appears to be referred to in the *Jīvakacintāmanī* also. Another inscription in the same place of about the same period records a grant of land to a Jaina temple.¹ Two inscriptions of Māraṇjādayan from the Ramnad district (430 and 431 of 1914) make mention of Tīrukkāttāmpallī which seems to have been a Jaina temple at Kuṇḍaḍai, an important Jaina centre in Venbunādu.² And the well-known Aivarmalai record of A.D. 870 records the renewal of the images of Pārśva-Bhatārar and the Yaksis at Tīruvayīrai by one Śāntivīraguṇavar, the pupil of Guṇavīrakkuravadigaḷ. And even Rājasīmha II, the last of the Pāṇḍya rulers of this age, is said to have endowed, among others, several Jaina temples (எண்ணிறந்த பள்ளிச் சந்நிதிகளும) It is clear from such facts that Jainism was not overwhelmed so completely as Buddhism by the rising tide of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the land.

A detailed study of the various movements of this heroic age of religion in South India is outside the scope of this history. But some attention must be given

¹ See *A. R. E.* 1916, part II, para 2

² *A. R. E.* 1915, part II, para 29

to that part of the legendary accounts of the age which centres round Madura and the Pāndya country, and an attempt made to estimate the influence of the revival of Hinduism on the Pāndya country. We have seen some reason to think that Mānikkavāśagar, the great antagonist of Buddhism, was among the earliest of the great saints of this age. It is very likely that the period of his ministry was sometime before the restoration of the Pāndya rule under Kadungōn. This fervid devotee of Śiva had his birth in the Pāndya country, and started in life as a high officer of the Pāndya king, the scene of his chief triumphs against the Buddhists was Chidambaram, and there is some reason to think that the Pāndyan power extended to Chidambaram in his day. It is remarkable that the sage ends his contest with the Buddhists by admitting the discomfited opponents into the fold of Śaivism and that as Pope has observed 'no mention is made of the use of any violent measures'. The greatest achievement of the sage,—this is true also of many others like him in this period—was the propagation of his faith by means of fervid popular songs which were unique in their lyrical beauty and the simplicity and directness of their appeal to the human heart. The name of Tirugnānasambandar, whom Śaivites regard as the greatest of Śaiva saints of this age, is connected with the story of a miraculous cure worked on a Pāndya king who may be identified, as we have seen, with Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa, who ruled in the second half of the seventh century A D. Later legend makes the occasion a turning point in the history of orthodox Śaivism in the Pāndya country. The king was a Jain and the whole land was taking to the heretical doctrine after him, and it was only the devotion of the queen, who was a Chola princess, and the minister Kulacciṛai that saved the

situation by sending word to the great saint of Shiyālī begging him to come and reclaim the land by combating the Jains and putting an end to their influence over the king. It is needless to narrate the story of what followed, as it is sufficiently known. But it must be stated that there is little ground for the view that many Jains were put to a cruel death on the occasion. The Tamil *Purāṇas* indeed say that 8,000 Jains were impaled on stakes, but this seems apocryphal. At any rate the saint Sambanda does not seem to be connected with the employment of violent measures and what troubles the Jains experienced seem to have been at the hands of the secular power.¹ Indeed, at the end of the contest with the Śaiva saint, we learn that the Jains still continued defiant, and unlike the Buddhist opponents of Māṇikkavāśagar at Chidambaram, these Jains of Madura refused to embrace the faith of their victorious opponent when he invited them to do so.

The contest against the heretical sects was carried on by the Vaisnava Ālvārs as much as by the Śaiva Nāyanārs. But the history of the Ālvārs is even more obscure than that of the Nāyanārs and it is not possible to say much of any of them with confidence. We have noted before the attempt to fix the age of Madhurakavi and his Guru Nammālvār by identifying Madhurakavi-ālvār with the minister Mārangārī who is also called Madhurakavi in the Ānamalai inscription. It has also been supposed that Nammālvār (Kārī Māran) was the son of the minister and that 'he may have given his own father's surname Madhurakavi to his

¹ See *verses* 853 and 854 of Gṇānasambanda's life in the *Periāyapurāṇam* and *verses* 43 and 45 in the 38th *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* in Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambi.

disciple as a *dāśyanāma* ¹ But, however plausible such assumptions may be, they are still only assumptions which await some tangible proof. The suggestion has been made that another Vaiṣṇava saint, Periyālvār, was the contemporary of Jatila Parāntaka I ² Periyālvār does refer to a Pāndya king Nedumāran in the lines. ‘(கொ)ன்னவில் கூாவேறகோன நெடுமாறன் தென கூடறகோன தென்னன் கொண்டாடும தென்றிருமாலிருஞ் சோலையே’ All that we can infer is that, if this Nedumāran is the same as the contemporary of Gṇāna-sambandar, this Alvar may also be assigned to their age and likewise his daughter Andāl. It seems more likely however that the reference is to Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha. But this inference can only be tentative, and in any case there is no reason to assign Periyālvār to the times of Jatila Parāntaka. But the references in Periyālvār to the Pāndyas, and the instances we have already noticed of the erection of two temples to Viṣṇu in the time of Parāntaka Nedunjadayan furnish sufficient evidence of the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the Pāndya country in this period. The epigraphs of the age furnish numerous instances of private benefactions to temples for the burning of lamps, the maintenance of gardens, etc., and one of these records from Tirupputtūr (136 of 1908) mentions the gift of ten *dīnāras* (*kāśu*) by a Brahmin lady for the burning of a lamp

¹ Gopinatha Rao, *Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, p. 19

² See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangār in *Sen Tamiḻ*, vol. vi, pp. 52-3. He is able to prove that Jatila was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, but this is admitted. But (1) he misinterprets the phrase குருசரிதவ கொண்டாடி in the Madras Museum plates by ignoring the phrase மஹாதாசிதமாராகத்தினால் which immediately precedes it, the word குரு means here, surely, *not* spiritual preceptor (Pandit's meaning), but the king's ancestors who preceded him on the throne, (2) the pandit does not say how Nedumāran can be identified with Nedunjadayan. See Also Gopinatha Rao, *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, pp. 5 and 23 and *A R E*, 1927, part ii, para 36.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHOLA CONQUEST

FROM about A.D. 925 to the beginning of the thirteenth century, for some three centuries, the Pāndyan kingdom ceased to exist as an independent state and was part of the empire of the Cholas. There are only a few records that can be referred with certainty to the Pāndya rulers of this period and for the rest we have to depend on the Chola inscriptions themselves. One thing however is clear, namely, that the Pāndyas never reconciled themselves to the rule of the Cholas in their country any more than others were willing to bear the rule of the Pāndyas in the years before. The country seems to have been in a state of chronic revolt and the Chola emperors were fighting repeatedly in the Pāndya country very much as the Pāndya rulers of the first empire did in the Travancore and Kongu countries. The Chola emperors also found it necessary for a time to depute members of the royal family to act as viceroys in the Pāndya country and the records of some of these Chola-Pāndya viceroys have come down to us. But when we piece together all the fragmentary data that can be gathered from our sources, we do not get even the outline of a continuous account. We get the names of only a few of the Pāndyan kings of this period. There is no possibility of tracing the relationship of these rulers and many gaps remain to be filled by future discovery and research.

After the conquest of Madura by Parāntaka I Chola and the flight of Rājasimha II about A.D. 920, the Pāndya country passed under Chola control and was

subject to Parāntaka almost to the end of his reign. This is borne out by the inscriptions of Parāntaka found in the Pāndya country,¹ the latest of these being an inscription from Sucīndram in South Travancore dated in the fortieth year of the king corresponding to A.D. 947. In the thirty-eighth year of Parāntaka, he levied a rather heavy impost (*dandam*) of 3,000 kaḷanju of gold on the members of the assembly of Kumbakonam (Iṟukkuḍamūkkū), and they agreed to pay the amount to the Pāndippadaiyār, by which is perhaps meant the forces that distinguished themselves in the conquest of the Pāndya country.²

But towards the close of Parāntaka's reign, some time before A.D. 949, a disaster overtook the newly established Chola power. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III invaded the Chola country in great force and Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, lost his life in the battle of Takkōla. Large portions of the Chola territory were occupied by Kṛṣṇa who advanced as far as Tanjore and seems to have reduced the successors of Parāntaka to an inferior position.³ We have no stone inscriptions in the Pāndya country relating to the Chola monarchs of this period.

During this period of trouble in the Chola kingdom, the Pāndya country seems to have been recovered by a member of the ancient royal family. We have a

¹ These are—

No 446 of 1917 at Kuttālam, twenty-fourth year

„ 63 of 1905 at Ānamalai, thirty-third year

„ 448 of 1917 at Kuttālam, thirty-sixth year.

„ 82 of 1896 at Sucīndram, fortieth year

² See *A R E*, 1912, p 56, para 15

³ See ll 42-5 of the larger Leiden grant and *E I*, vol iii, pp 283-4 Also *A R E*, 1892, p 3, and 1912, pp 55 and 57 Was the impost on Kumbakonam levied by Parāntaka in his thirty-eighth year an exceptional tax raised in view of the coming war with the Rāshtrakūṭa king? See also *E I*, vol xix, pp 82 ff, *contra A R E*, 1926, part ii, para 12

hands of Vīra Pāndya has been sometimes identified with Parāntaka II Sundara Chola¹ This Chola king, fought at Chēvūr a battle which is referred to in the larger Leiden grant as follows 'At the town named Chēvūr, he, completely filling all the directions by the multitude of very sharp arrows sent forth from his own beautiful bow, produced manifold rivers of blood flowing from the great royal elephants of his foes, cut down with his sharp sword'² It is remarkable that this rather forced account of the battle does not claim a victory for the Chola king; this may mean that the Chola king did not have the best of the battle in spite of his heroism. This inference becomes more certain in the light of other facts. Vīra Pāndya claims to have taken the head of a Chola and his inscriptions mentioning this achievement range from his sixth to his nineteenth year (163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896) It is not possible to identify the prince who was killed by Vīra Pāndya, but it cannot be Parāntaka himself.³ It seems a legitimate inference to make that

father's death is a mistake as it seems to contradict the evidence on the battle of Takkōla (*ARE*, 1892, p 3, contra *EI*, vol xv, p 52), see also *Trav Arch Series*, vol iii, pp 67 ff The discussion of this subject in *ARE*, 1926, part ii, paras 13 ff does not seem to carry it much farther

¹ Cf T A Gopinatha Rao in *EI*, vol xv, contra, H K Sastri in para 31, part ii, of *ARE* for 1915 It is rather strange that Mr Sastri should think that the larger Leiden grant says that a Vīra Pāndya was defeated by Sundara Chola He also remarks 'The boast of Vīra Pāndya that he also took the head of the Chola king may be explained by assuming that before he was beheaded by Āditya II he would probably have killed a Chola' See also *ARE*, 1921, p 109 The number of years (13) covered by the records of Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' preclude the supposition that he killed Sundara Chola and was himself killed soon after by Āditya II

² Burgess and Natesa Sastri—*Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions*, p 217 The suggestion that Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' may have been the son and successor of Rājasimha II based on No 122^c of 1905 (*Trav Arch Series*, iii, p 68) is not easy to accept as it does not seem to fit in with the chronology of the period

³ Messrs Krishna Sastri and K V Subramanya Aiyar come to the

Pallavarayan and a Čholāntakan *nālī* (grain-measure) Čholāntaka was probably a surname assumed by Vīra Pāndya after his successful fight with the Čholas¹ and the reference to the *nālī* may imply that the king found time to regulate the weights and measures used in the land. Six inscriptions of this king from the Ramnad district refer to a Sundara Pāndya Īśvaram Udayār temple in Tiruccuḷi Pallimadam, a village in the district, it is not possible to say who this Sundara Pāndya was though it seems certain that he must have been closely connected with Vīra Pāndya.

It is not known if Madhurāntaka Uttama Čhola undertook any expedition against Madura as his *biruda* may imply, or as seems more likely, if he only inherited his title from his father Gandarāditya who has been identified with Maduraikonda Rājakēsaṛi of the inscriptions². At any rate, there is no reason to doubt that the Čhola power was not fully restored in the Pāndya country by the success of Aditya II and that later, it became more firmly established in the time of the great Rāja Rāja I who came to the Čhola throne in A.D. 985. That Rāja Rāja took great credit for his conquest of the Pāndya country is clear from his inscriptions. A record of the twenty-ninth year of Rāja Rāja says, for instance, 'that he deprived the Śēḷiyas (i.e. the Pāndyas) of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere'³. But we know little of the details. 'It is in inscriptions of the eighth year

¹ See *A R E*, 1910, p. 86, 1915, part ii, para 31.

² See *A R E* 1912, p. 57. Gandarāditya himself seems to have got the title Madhurāntaka from the part he took in his father's conquest of Madura or by mere heredity.

³ *S I I*, vol. ii, p. 250.

1 See *S I I*, vol II, Intro, pp 2-3 Venkayya also says 'A place named Udagai (உடகை) is mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Pāndyas (p 250, n 3) The *Kalingattupparani* refers to the "storming of Udagai" in the verse which alludes to the reign of Rāja Rāja. The *Kulōtunga-Sōlan Ulā* also mentions the burning of Udagai This was probably an important stronghold in the Pāndya country which the Chola king captured' But the *Kalingattupparani*, verse viii 22, clearly implies that Udagai was not in the Pāndya country but outside the traditional limits of that kingdom, therefore Mr Venkayya's note to the passage quoted above is more to the point 'The Kīlūr inscription of Rāja Rāja's twenty-seventh year (No 236 of 1902) which is partly mutilated, supplies a historical introduction of the king in Tamil poetry, different from the usual *Rajasekharavāc* etc., and mentions the king's conquest of Udagai in his campaign against Malaiṇādu As already stated the Pāndya country must have also included Malaiṇādu at the time of Rāja Rāja's conquest' On Kāṇḍalūr Śālai, see *Trav Arch Series*, vol II, pp 2-5 for a more likely interpretation Pandit M Raghava Aiyangar is inclined to interpret all references to *araiyānāṇḍi* as suppressions of local risings But there are difficulties in accepting this view also

been allied together in their war against the Chola king, for in the Tanjore inscriptions reference is frequently made to the conquest of the Chera king and the Pāndyas in Malainādu, i.e. the west coast. Kāṇḍalūr Śālai which is stated to belong to the Chera king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāndyas when it was attacked by Rāja Rāja.' Many inscriptions of Rāja Rāja have been found in various places in the Pāndya country and these range from the ninth to the twentieth years of his reign. Other facts also show that the Chola suzerainty in the Pāndya country was firmly established by Rāja Rāja. Even the name of the Pāndya country undergoes a change and becomes Rāja-rāja-Mandalam or Raja-rāja-Pāṇḍinādu in the Chola records,¹ and we come to hear of a sub-division Pāndya-kulāśani-valanādu for the first time in the age of Rāja Rāja or possibly a little earlier.² Among the queens of Rāja Rāja is one Pancavanmahādēvi referred to in inscriptions from the tenth year of Rāja Rāja (No. 254 of 1907), and in the twenty-eighth year of the king a grant is made by one of his queens Vēmban Śīrudaiyār *alias* Mīnavan Mahādēviyār.³ Rāja Rāja apparently also used the Pāndya country as a base for a successful raid on Ceylon between the seventeenth and twentieth years of his reign.⁴ A Tanjore inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rāja Rāja⁵ contains an order dealing with defaulters in land-revenue in Pāṇḍinādu *alias* Rāja-rāja-valanādu, among others. Above all, Rāja Rāja's son and successor Rājendra inherited the Pāndya country from his father. His

¹ *A R E*, 1917, pp 106-7

² See No 455 of 1908 and 672 of 1909 which are Nos 691 and 538 respectively under Trichinopoly district in Mr V Rangacharya's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*

³ *A R E*, 1909, p 91

⁴ *J R A S*, 1913, pp 523-24

⁵ *S I I*, vol iii, No 9

inscriptions are found in places like Tinnevely and Cape Comorin in the Pāndya country which he does not claim to have conquered ¹ Rājēndra's relations with the Pāndya kingdom can be traced clearly from the records of his time. The Pāndyas of the old line seem to have continued their rule in a subordinate capacity, an inscription in the third year of Rājēndra (No. 46 of 1907) from Tiruvīśālūr in the Tanjore district, records a gift of ornaments by the queen of the Pāndya king, Śrīval-luvar. In the sixth year of his reign, A.D. 1017, or a little earlier, Rājēndra undertook his famous expedition against Ceylon in which he seized 'the crown of the king of Īlam (on) the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king), the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (i.e. the Pāndya) had previously deposited with that (king of Īlam), the whole Īla-mandala (on) the transparent sea' ² Rājēndra was also called Madhurāntaka and Uttamachola, these names were perhaps given him by his father Rāja Rāja who had a great regard for his father's cousin Madhurāntaka Uttamachola. It seems more likely that two coins, one of gold and the other of impure silver, bearing the legend *Uttamachola* in grantha characters and the tiger and fish designs were issued by Rājēndra rather than by the earlier Uttamachola who was the contemporary of Rāja Rāja ³ In the tenth year of his reign or very soon after,

¹ Cf. *A.R.L.*, 1917, p. 107 *contra* Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, p. 151 of *Ancient Dehkan*, but Mr. Aiyar gives no references and seems to base his account on the Sanlit portion (verses 90-93) of the Tiruvāṅgādu plates, which are dealt with later in the text.

² Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 522-23.

³ *Contra* *A.R.L.*, 1904, p. 10. Things seem to have been still unsettled in the Pāndya country in the time of the earlier Madhurāntaka, no records of the Cholas between Parantaka and Rāja Rāja are seen in the

surely before the twelfth, Rājendra had to undertake an expedition against the Madura country in order to reassert his authority which seems to have been challenged in some way or other. The early inscriptions of the king dated before his tenth year make no mention of any conquest of Maduraimandalam, and we hear of it for the first time in a record of his twelfth year from Tirumalai.¹ It is possible that this reconquest is referred to in *verses* 91-93 of the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvālangādu plates.² 'The dandanātha of this crest jewel of the solar race (i.e. Madhurāntaka), struck the Pāndya king who had a powerful army. (And) the Pāndya, leaving his own country from fear of Madhurāntaka, sought refuge in the Malaya hill which was the residence of (the sage) Agastya (Then) the politic son of Rāja Rāja took possession of the lustrous pure pearls which looked like the seeds (out of which grew) the

Pāndya country and it is not likely that these coins were issued in that period. I have already said that the Madras Museum plates of Parakēśari Uttamachola may be ascribed to Rājendra also (n 1, p 101). And Dr Hultzsch remarks 'The close resemblance of the devices on the coins (referred to in this note) to those on the seal of the inscription leaves little doubt that both the coins and the inscription have to be attributed to the same king Uttamachola' (*ARE*, 1891, p 5).

¹ See *E I*, vol ix, p 232. Hultzsch's remark at p 230 *E I* ix 'Maduraimandala need not be connected with Madura, the capital of the Pāndya king, who has been already accounted for, but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathura on the Yamuna'—will be plausible if the identification of Śakkarakkōṭṭam rests on a secure basis, but this is very doubtful and it is possible to adopt the usual meaning of Maduraimandalam and explain the new conquest as in the text. The Pāndya king moreover has not been 'already accounted for' but only 'two other trinkets which the Pāndya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon'.

² The Sanskrit part of the plates dates only from the sixteenth year of Rājendra at the earliest (see *S I I*, vol iii, p 384) and cannot compare in accuracy with the Tamil stone inscriptions of Rājendra, hence no violence is done to the authority of these verses when the campaign they refer to is placed about the tenth regnal year according to indications in the lithic records. I have adopted Mr Krishna Sastri's translation with a correction which appears necessary.

spotless fame of the Pāndya king'. Having placed there his own son, the glorious Chola-Pāndya, for the protection of his (i.e. the Pāndya's country), the light of the solar race started for the conquest of the western region'. We have no means of knowing who the Pāndya king was, whether he was Śrīvallabha or a successor of his, that was forced to seek refuge in the mountain of Agastya. The appointment of the king's son, the glorious Chola-Pāndya, as viceroy of the Pāndya country is confirmed by an inscription (363 of 1917) of the tenth year of Rājēndra, which also 'furnishes the very interesting information that Rājēndra Chola I constructed at Madura a huge palace (*Māligai*) by whose weight even the earth became unsteady', this inscription also implies that the campaign undertaken by Rājēndra in the south extended up to Śālai (Kāandalūi Śālai) whose destruction is mentioned'. For a period of about half a century, after this campaign of Rājēndra in the Pāndya country, which may be placed about A.D. 1020, the administration of this part of the Chola empire seems to have been regularly vested in a prince of the Chola royal family who bore the title Chola-Pāndya. Rājēndra's son who figures in the inscriptions of this period as Jatāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya was the first of these Chola-Pāndya viceroys, and he may have continued in this capacity for some years in the beginning of the reign of the Chola emperor Rājādhirāja I who succeeded Rājēndra.² It is possible that the Chola-Pāndya viceroys

¹ *A R C*, 1918, p. 144 and Appendix B

² On Chola Pāndyas, see *A R C*, 1905, pp. 48-9 and later reports, esp. 1917, pp. 107-8 and 1924, pp. 105-6, also *E I* vol. xi, pp. 292 ff. It is not easy to identify the particular princes mentioned in the several Chola-Pāndya records. The Chola inscriptions themselves mention three such cases of Chola Pāndya viceroys appointed by different rulers, there is little

had some control over the Chera country also. The inscriptions of Jatāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya are found all over Madura and Tinnevely and portions of Pudukkottah and S. Travancore. Some inscriptions (Nos 111, 113 and 114 of 1905) of the sixteenth year of this prince from Mannārkōvil near Ambāsamudram mention the Chera kings Rāja Rāja and Rājasimha and another record from the same place (No. 112 of 1905) dated in the twenty-fourth year of Rājēndra himself says that Rājasimha built in Mannārkōvil the Visnu temple called Rājēndracholavinnagar.¹ Besides Jatāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya, two other Chola princes are known from Chola inscriptions to have been appointed to the viceroyalty of the Pāndyan kingdom. In the historical introductions of Rājēndradēva (c. A.D. 1052-1064), he is stated to have conferred on one of his younger brothers, the victorious Mummadi Solan, the title Chola-Pāndyan.² Again some years later Virarājēndra I conferred on his son Gangaikondachola the Pāndimandalam and the title Chola-Pāndya.³ It is not possible to identify these princes in the Chola-Pāndya records very clearly, and it is not unlikely there were two or three princes similarly deputed to rule the Pāndyan kingdom. But this system does not seem to have been continued after the accession of Kulōttunga I about A.D. 1070.⁴

room for doubt that this arrangement did not continue after the accession of Kulōttunga I.

¹ *IRE*, 1905, Appendix B and *LI*, vol. vi, p. 291. Also No 392 of 1916 mentions a gift by the queen of Chera Rāsingadēvar to the temple.

² *JRL*, 1917, pp. 107-8.

³ *SII*, vol. iii, p. 33.

⁴ Mr K. V. Subramanya Aiyar says: "The Pāndya seem to have accepted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttunga I. At any rate we have no reason to suppose that the Chola Pāndya lines continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century which was probably occupied by the rule of the few princes known

after the conquests of Rājēndra was no doubt a contributory factor.¹

Almost every one of the kings who reigned between Rājēndra I Gangaikonda and Rājēndra II *alias* Kulōtunga I—he ought properly to be numbered third among Rājēndras—claims to have conquered the Pāndya country and some add also an attack on Udagāi in the Kērala country to the list of their achievements. But we are not yet in a position to trace in detail any of these expeditions, the circumstances that led to them or their results. But a record of the twenty-ninth year of Rājādhirāja I corresponding to A D 1046 contains the names of three Pāndya kings who opposed him and suffered terribly for doing so. Their fates are recorded in an inscription in the following terms ² ‘Among the three allied kings of the south (i.e. Pāndyas), Rājādhirāja cut off on a battlefield the beautiful head of Mānābharanan (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown,

¹ Mr Venkayya remarks that though the Pāndya country was conquered early in Rāja Rāja I's reign, Chola Pāndya viceroys come in only with Rājēndra Chola I whose extensive scheme of foreign conquests made them necessary and that ‘the name Pāndya was perhaps added at the end of the Chola prince's name partly to reconcile the people to their new ruler’ (*A R E*, 1905, pp 48-9) Mr K V S Aiyar says on the other hand, ‘The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāndyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chola yoke during the whole period of Chola supremacy in South India’ (*E I*, vol xi, p 293) Our view is that Rājēndra made the discovery only about the tenth year of his reign that some special steps were necessary for keeping a tight hold on the Pāndya country, and that the Pāndyas derived a great part of their strength from the traditional sway they had secured in the hearts of their people, and the rest from their political alliance with Ceylon. It is remarkable that all the sternness of the Chola emperors was not able to root out the Pāndyas, and that the latter should have ultimately got the better of their conquerors, and in the end even contributed largely to their downfall.

² *S I I*, vol iii, p 56

seized in a battle Vira Kēralan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled down by his furious elephant Attivāna, and drove to the ancient Mullavūr Sundara Pāndyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away—his crown dropping down, (his) hair being dishevelled, and (his) feet getting tired'. Nothing more is known of the three Pāndyas mentioned here. Mānābharanan and Vira Kēralan appear to have occupied somewhat subordinate positions and Sundara Pāndya seems to have been the chief of the trio. This is evident from the laudatory reference to Sundara and also from the fact that he escaped capital punishment. We read later on in the same inscription that Rūḍhirāja invaded Ceylon and in this expedition he dethroned four rulers of the country. One of them was 'Vikrama Pāndyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country which had previously belonged to him, had entered Īlam (surrounded by) the seven oceans'. We do not know at present what this means exactly, but it illustrates the close connection, political and dynastic, between the Pāndyas and the Ceylon kings in this period.

The accession of Kulōttuaga I marks a turning-point in the history of the Chola empire. This king was not of the direct Chola imperial line, he was an Eastern Chāḍukya prince, and many troubles seem to have attended the accession of a comparative stranger like him to the Chola throne. Whether as a result of his intrigues or not, the empire was reduced to a state of great confusion bordering on anarchy¹ and from these troubles

¹ See remarks at p. 14 of *ARL*, 1899 and also at p. 7 of same for 1901, also *SI I*, vol. III, p. 129

it seems never to have completely recovered under Kulōttunga and his successors. At any rate, we do not find under Kulōttunga and his successors the same vigour in the administration of the empire that characterized the Vijayālaya line, and the Pāndya kingdom, now apparently freed from the presence of the Chola-Pāndya viceroys, slowly began to pass more and more under the domination of the descendants of its ancient rulers until at last it not only secured its own independence but helped a good deal to pull down the power of its erstwhile dominant foe. But before we take up this part of the story, something remains to be said about the administration of the Pāndya country under the imperial Cholas of the Vijayālaya line.

There is a general order of Rāja Rāja I recorded in an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of his reign, i.e., about A.D. 1009¹ which 'deals with defaulters of land revenue in villages held by Brahmins, Vaikhānasas and Jains in the Chola, Tondai and Pāndya countries.'² The default in the payment of revenue seems to have been on the part of a special class of tenants who are referred to as 'காணி உடையாரா' and who seem to have in some manner abused their privileged position, the penalty that is laid down by the royal order is drastic, but it must be noticed that it applied to other territories besides the Pāndya country. The king orders that all 'காணி உடையாரா' who between the sixteenth

¹ S I I, vol iii, No 9

² Dr Hultzsch's translation of this record does not seem to bring out the fact that it is significant, though its exact import is far from clear. The operative part of the text is 'காணி உடையாரா யாண்டு 16 வது முதல் 23 ஆவது வரையிலுள்ள ஊராண்டு பிரமபி மூவாண்டு தந்தகாணியான நிலங்களுக்கு அவ்வவ ஊரகிலாரோடும் ஊரிடு வரிப்பாடு இறை இருது போலா காணி உடையாரைத் தவிர ஊர் நிலமாய் அவ்வவ ஊரகிலா ரெவிறுக்கொள்ளப் பெறுவார்களாகவும்'

and twenty-third years of his reign had failed to pay the dues paid by others in the village (ஊரிடுவரிப்பாடு) and whose default continued after more than two complete years into a third year—all such ‘காணி உடையார’ shall forfeit their ‘காணி’ lands to the village, and the villagers shall arrange to sell the lands among themselves, but the old defaulters shall not be allowed to buy up these lands again. The same rule was to be observed in all similar cases of default after the twenty-fourth year of the king's reign. The whole record looks like an attempt to regulate the administration of charitable endowments made on behalf of several religious orders and to secure that they did not escape public dues that were laid on them by the terms of the original endowment or the custom of the country. Inscriptions Nos. 327 and 619 of 1916, which are Chola-Pāndya records from Tīruvāliśvaram and Sērmādēvi in the Tinnevely district, seem to contain interesting particulars of land revenue administration. But the text of these records is not yet available and this is how the official epigraphist summarizes them. ‘This record (No. 327) refers to a gift of land by him (Sundara Chola-Pāndya) after purchasing it from the sabha of Rāja Rāja Caturvēdimangalam i.e., Ambāsamudram (It should rather be Brahmadēśam). The income from the land included paddy given by the cultivator (*vellān*) as owner's share and money called *uruvukōl-nīlan-kāśu* and *kākshu-erudukāśu*. No. 619 of the seventeenth year of the same king's reign refers to similar items of income under the heads of *alagerudu-kāṭchi-kāśu*, *kāṭchi-erudu-kāśu* and *urkkaṭanju*. The order sanctioning the transfer of the land from the *Brahmadēya* register to the *Devadāna* register in No. 327, was communicated to the viceroy, the document being signed by not less than twenty-two

officers of the emperor¹ The collection of the dues partly in kind and partly in money and the mention of sundry pecuniary levies under different names deserve special attention. Further study may lead to a clear understanding of the nature of these cesses. Another Chola-Pāndya record which registers a sale of land to the Viṣṇu temple Rājēndra Chola Vinnagaram at Mannār-kōvil may also be briefly referred to. The sale in this case was ordered by the members of the sabha of Rāja Rāja Caturvēdimangalam, already referred to, several of these members who ordered the sale were learned men bearing titles like *Bhatta*, *Sōmayāṇ* and *Kramavit* and they seem to have been resident in the different suburbs (சேரி) of the village, and some at least among them appear to have been immigrants from other parts of the Chola empire² The sale deed (விலை ஒலை) is written by the Karanattān (கரணத்தான) of the village and the sale is referred to by the members of the assembly in the phrase 'விலை ஒலைசெய்து நீரோட்டடிககொடுத்தோம்' (l. 4).

One reference to a *matha* of the sect of Mahāvratins that occurs in a Vatteluttu inscription from Tirucculī in the Ramnad district is sufficiently important to deserve special mention. It occurs in a record of the eleventh year of Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' (No. 423 of 1914). This reference is confirmed by

¹ *A R E*, 1917, p. 108, part II, para 4

² Cf. *E I*, vol. xi, pp. 292 ff. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar remarks in a note at p. 292, 'It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamil record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the southern country of a large number of Brahmins from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājēndra Chola I, which extended as far as the Ganges.' But the admixture of Sanskrit in Tamil records is very common even in the age of the First Empire as we have seen and even then the immigration of Brahmins from the north was not unknown.

another record of Vikramakēśari, a Kodumbālūr chieftain, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāndya in battle. This chieftain was the son of a Chola princess and probably took the side of the Cholas against Vīra Pāndya in the wars mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.¹ Vikramakēśari presented a big *matha* (*brāhmaṇa-matham*) to a certain Mallikārjuna of Madura, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālāmukha sect, with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (called *asita-vaktra*). Mallikārjuna belonged to the Ātrēya gotra and was the disciple of two teachers Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. These references reveal the presence in the Madura and Ramnad districts and in the Pudukkottah state—the Vikramakēśari record comes from Mūvarkōil in that state—of a considerable number of the ascetics of the Mahāvratā or Kālāmukha sect of the Śaivas. Dr Bhandarkar says of this sect: 'It will be seen how terrible and demoniacal this sect was . . . Mahāvratā means the great vow, and the greatness of the vow consists in its extraordinary nature, such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others which are attributed to Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja.'²

¹ See Venkayya in *A R E*, 1908, part II, paras 85-6, and for a brief discussion of No 423 of 1914, *A R E*, 1915, p 101. Mr Krishna Sastri's suspicion that Mahāvratins may refer to Jains may be taken to be set at rest by the use of the term *asita vaktra* (= Kālāmukha) in the record of Vikramakēśari.

² *Vaishnavism and Śaivism*, p 128.

CHAPTER IX

THE END OF CHOLA ASCENDANCY CIVIL WAR AND RECOVERY

THE confusion in the Chola empire that led to the accession of the Eastern Chālukya Rājendra *alias* Kulōtunga I to the Chola throne about A D. 1070 apparently gave the Pāndyas an opportunity to recover some of their lost power. A Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha seems to have reigned in this period with some real power for a period of at least twenty-three years (No 555 of 1922). A considerable number of his records are found in various places in the Tinnevely and Madura districts, in particular at Kuruvitturai and Tirupputtūr. Most of these contain a grandiloquent historical introduction beginning with the words *Tirumadandariyum Jayamadandariyum*, but this introduction tells us nothing about the historical details of his reign. There are references to a throne called Pāndyarāyan, to another throne Kalīgattaraiyan which seems to have got its name from an important officer called Kalingarājan and to 'an Aḷagiya Pāndyan hall in which these thrones were placed in the palace at Madūra, to the east of Mādakkulam. There is also reference to a Pillaiyār Sundara Pāndya, probably the son of the king (493 of 1909). We also learn that *drammas* were among coins current in his time. Moreover, 'references in these inscriptions to canals, sluices, water-bunds, etc., called after Parākrama Pāndya and to the grain measure named *Vīra Pāndya*, prove that Parākrama Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya

were two predecessors of Jatāvarmān Śrīvallabha or his coregents who greatly improved the agricultural condition of the Pāndya country '¹ It is not possible to determine precisely the period of his rule although there is some reason to think that he was a contemporary of Kulōttunga I This is an inference that rests at present only on the slender basis that a certain Vīraśēkharan *alias* Adalairiyūr Nādālvān refers to the fourth year of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha in one inscription and the forty-ninth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga Chola-dēva in another (30 and 32 of 1909).² It has been suggested that Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha must have adopted the surname Chōlāntaka 'after subduing the Cholas before he could secure for himself the independent position which is suggested by the eulogistic and poetical historical introduction with which his records begin '³ But one cannot

¹ *A R E*, 1909, part ii, para 23

² See *A R E*, 1909, part ii, para 23 end The report for 1917 finds confirmation of the age of Śrīvallabha in 331 of 1916 from Tiruvāliśvaram in which a certain Umai Ammai of about the end of the tenth century is mentioned Again, No 21 of 1927 in the tenth year of this king refers to the thirty-first year of Kulōttunga Chola who took Kollam It must be noted however that the whole question is far from satisfactorily settled There is a strange inconsistency in the positions taken up in the epigraphical reports about this king We learn (1909) that 'he was perhaps the immediate predecessor of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara of the earlier Tiruppūvanam grant' at the beginning of a paragraph which ends with the statement that he was of the age of Kulōttunga I and was among the Pāndya sovereigns overthrown by him Either of these conclusions must be wrong as Kulōttunga I came to the throne about A D 1070 and conquered the Pāndyas before A D 1085 (*S I I*, vol ii, No 58) and Kulaśēkhara of the Tiruppūvanam grant came to the throne in A D 1190 (Kielhorn *E I*, vol vi) The report for 1917 leans to Kulōttunga's time but we hear a different story in the report for 1923 which again makes him the predecessor of Jaṭ Kulaśēkhara (para 46, part i) In the reports for 1918 and 1927 his accession is placed in A D 1291 The only fact which seems to help us in deciding this is noted in the text, the rest are impressions and may be ignored for the present See also K V S Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkan*, pp 162-3 for a discussion of the matter of this note *re* Jaṭ Śrīvallabha

³ *A R E*, 1909, part ii, para 23

accept this in the absence of any mention of such an achievement in the introduction itself. It is more likely that the old name of Cholāntaka Caturvēdimangalam for Kuruvitturai or more probably Śolavandān,¹ commemorated the success of Vīra Pāndya, the opponent of Aditya II.

Several inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chola I have been found in the Pāndya country. One has been discovered at Tinnevely (145 of 1894) but the regnal year has been lost, and another (31 of 1896) at Kōttāru, several others are found on the site of ancient Korkai (157, 161 and 162-5 of 1903). An inscription of the fifth year of Kulōttunga² seems to record that an unnamed Pāndya king was decapitated by him. Another record of the fourteenth year³ repeats this fact and records a fresh conquest of the Pāndya with several details. It says 'Having resolved in (his) royal mind to conquer also the Pāndi-mandalam with great fame, (he) despatched his great army.

He completely destroyed the forest which the five Pancavas had entered as refuge, when they were routed, on a battle-field where (he) fought (with them), and fled cowering with fear. (He) subdued their country, drove them into hot jungles (in) hills where woodmen roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every region. (He) was pleased to seize the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil (mountain) where the three kinds of Tamil (flourished), the (very) centre of the (mountain) Śāyām where furious rutting elephants were captured, and Kannī, and fixed the boundaries of the southern country . . . (He) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road,

¹ Hultzsch, *A R E*, 1894, p 7, para 12

² *S I I*, vol iii, No 68

³ No 69, *ibid*

including (that which passed) Kōttāru, in order that the enemies might be scattered' 'The defeat of the "five Pāndyas" and the burning of Kōttāru are referred to also in an inscription at Chidambaram and the *Kalingattupparam*'—(Hultzsch)

What does the reference in these records to the 'five Pāndyas' (பஞ்சவர்ண ஐவருடம், *Pāndyān Panca*) indicate? Mr L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai once thought that the simultaneous rule of five Pāndyas was a fact established by tradition as well as by the statements of contemporary historians,¹ and proceeded to arrange the Pāndya kings of the thirteenth century known to epigraphy on this basis. Mr. Robert Sewell subjected this position to a searching criticism² and concluded 'that we must hold the evidence to be overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of a co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside' There is no doubt that on this general question of the regular and successive rule of five Pāndyan kings through several generations the position of Mr Sewell is the sounder of the two, and that Mr Pillai seems on the whole to have had an exaggerated view of the evidence on his side, and that he was misled by a system of chronology, based exclusively on dubious astronomical data contained in the stone inscriptions of the period

Mr Sewell refers to the records of Kulōttunga I and says 'In two inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chola I the king is lauded for having, shortly before A D. 1084, completely defeated "the five Pāndyas" But this is poetry.' It is not easy so to brush aside the clear references in

¹ *IA*, vol xlii, p 166, also vol xlv, pp 172-6 It must be noted that Mr Swamikkannu Pillai's discussion of Pāndya dates in his *Ephemeris*, vol 1, part II, pp 81ff is much more cautious

² *Ibid*

the phrases quoted above. On the other hand, it is not necessary that each of these 'five Pāndyas' must have been an independent ruler in his own right. It may be recalled that one of Kulōttunga's predecessors on the Chola throne, Rājādhirāja, had three Pāndyas for his opponents, Manābharana, Vīra Kērala and Sundara, of whom only the last is referred to in the Chola records in terms befitting a reigning king. We do not get any details about the opponents of Kulōttunga. It may be surmised that Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha was among them, if this surmise is correct, there can be little doubt that the account of Kulōttunga who claims to have driven all the five Pāndyas to the forest and then to have burnt that forest is over-drawn, for the chances are that Śrīvallabha survived his defeat by Kulōttunga and continued to rule, though perhaps with diminished power, and this seems to be admitted somewhat later in the same record of Kulōttunga where we are told that he 'fixed the boundaries of the southern country'.¹

¹ This conclusion seems a natural inference from the two records of Adalāyūr Nādālvān (30 and 32 of 1909) in which he refers to the fourth year of Śrīvallabha and the forty ninth year of Kulōttunga. We know that Śrīvallabha reigned for at least twenty three years and we may assume that for the bulk of it his reign overlapped Kulōttunga's. We shall have, otherwise to credit Adalāyūr Nādālvān with a rather unusual length of active life, nineteen *plus* forty-nine years, as there seems to be little doubt that the forty ninth year of Kulōttunga was later than the fourth of Śrīvallabha.

Mr H. Krishna Sastri seems to accept the co-regent theory. He suggests that Jatāvarman Parīkrama Pāndya (of 94, 98 and 131 of 1908), and Tribhuvanaśaravartin Vīrāma Pāndya Dēva (of 26 of 1909) might have been also among the foes of Kulōttunga (*A R E*, 1909, part ii, paras 29 and 30). But it is well to remember Sewell's warning— 'With some as yet unabridged intervals, hereafter no doubt to be successfully filled in, we are now in possession of the general outlines, and in course of time the whole story will become plain. But it will never become plain if at the present very critical period workers are not particularly cautious in their methods. Deductions put forward or statements confidently made by an author who is recognized as an authority on the subject may, if these are perhaps based

Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha appears to have been succeeded by Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāndya Dēva, this may be inferred from the fact that a certain Rājendra Cholan Kēralan *alias* Nisadarājan who made a gift of sheep for a lamp in a temple in the twenty-first year of Śrīvallabha, also made a gift of paddy to the same temple in the eleventh year of Parākrama Pāndya.¹ Parākrama Pāndya's records begin with a historical introduction commencing with *Tṛimagal Pūnara* and mention *diammas* as among the coins current in his time. Nothing more is known at present about this king. He must have reigned as a contemporary of Kulōttunga also.

The next Pāndya king, perhaps the immediate successor of Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya, seems to have been a Jatāvarman Parāntaka Pāndya. He is known to us so far only from one record of his at Kanyākumārī. Fortunately the record is full and gives a clear account of the king's reign.² The historical introduction commences beautifully thus 'திருவளரசு செயல்வளர தென்ன

on insufficient evidence, have the unfortunate result of seriously clouding the issue and raising great difficulties for the student in after years. An aspect on so made is apt to be accepted as an historic truth.

It seems very likely that from the period of the recovery of Pāndya power which preceded the expedition of Kulōttunga I, there were appointed in important subordinate capacities princes of the blood royal who recorded their own inscriptions after the manner of the ruling kings—a practice which may have been copied from the contemporary Cholas, if that was so, the imitators must have gone much farther along this road than their models. If this suggestion is borne out by future study, the best way of treating Pāndya as one of the middle ages will be to treat the kings in Kielhorn's lists as the main line of rulers. But even so, there will remain much work in the way of properly interpreting the sandstone epigraphs.

It will be seen from the text that I prefer to treat Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya of 93, 98, and 131 or 133 as the successor of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha.

¹ *A.R.E.*, 1913, part II, para 29. See also 1916, part II, para 32.

² *Tamil Arch. Series*, no. 10 pp. 183. *Also Indian Ephemeris* by

பாண்டிய அரசன் பருமதநாள் கவைவளர் வனைத்துலகந
 மய-செய்த தெனமதுரா புரிததோன்றி' The record is
 dated in the ninth year of the king Parāntaka is said
 to have defeated the Chera and levied tribute from him.
 The king of the Kūpakas (a local ruler in South Travan-
 core) offered his daughter in marriage to Parāntaka
 Pāndya who married her. The king then fought a battle
 at Viḷṇam and took the town. Next came the destruc-
 tion of Kāṇḍalūr-Śālai-kkalam. Apparently the systems
 of weights and measures were in an unsatisfactory
 condition and consequently the king is described as
 having reformed them by abolishing their old names
 and ordering the carp (கயல்) to be engraved on the new
 weights and measures that were introduced. Parāntaka
 also set up ten golden lamps of rare workmanship for the
 god at Anantapuram and granted a village for their
 upkeep. He also dedicated to the goddess Kumārī,
 called here தென்னா நமக்குலதேயவம், a whole *nādu* as
 an endowment for the distribution of liberal gifts to all
 who attended the Taippūśam festival, on the day succeed-
 ing it. Lastly, he captured Kulam of the Telinga
 Bhīma and subdued South Kalinga.

These last references to Telinga Bhīma and Kuḷam
 and South Kalinga remind us strongly of the historical
 introduction of Kulōttunga's son and successor Vikrama
 Chola, whose expedition into the Kalinga country
 takes the first place in his Tamil inscriptions. 'On
 this occasion he defeated the Telinga Bhīma of
 Kulam who was apparently one of the Nāyakas of
 Ellore. As Vikrama Chola's inscriptions place
 the Kalinga war not only before his coronation in
 A.D. 1118, but before his stay in Vengi, it must have
 taken place before the end of the reign of his father
 Kulōttunga I'—(Hultzsch). But in all probability this

The next Pandya king of whom we have some definite knowledge is Māravarman Śrīvallabha who is known to have been reigning in A D 1160-1 and to whom king Vīra Ravi Varman of Travancore was tributary ² There are a considerable number of inscriptions mostly from the Tinnevely district that may be ascribed to this king. A record from Kōttāru (49 of 1896) mentions prince Kulaśēkhara who can be identified with good reason with the prince who had a prominent part in the war of succession that seems to have followed the death of this king, Śrīvallabha. In another (No 50 of 1896) from

¹ *A R E* , 1903, page 4, para 8 Also 1905, part 11, para 8

² *A R S* , 1896, para 15

the same place 'the king is said to have been ruling from his throne Munaiyadaraiyan in the palace at Tīruneḷvēḷi in Kīl-vēmbanādu' ¹ A Sucīndram inscription of this king dated in his tenth year refers to Āndapillai Bhatta Atirātrayāji at whose instance the king made a grant of land to the Sucīndram temple. It is probable that this Āndapillai who performed the *Atirātra* sacrifice was the same as the author of a well-known work on Hindu domestic ritual (*Grhyaprayōgavṛtti*) which is still used in Southern India.² The records of this king generally begin with the introduction கும்பகாஜம் etc. But one in his thirty-seventh year (No 426 of 1916) begins with an introduction கும்பகாஜம், etc. almost similar to that of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha. The astronomical details furnished by this record are said to yield the date A D 1169 for the inscription, the date is not quite regular but may be accepted in the light of other evidence relating to the king. This would mean that Māravarman Śrīvallabha came to the throne in A D. 1132 and that this record is among the last ones of his reign ³ But it is doubtful if Śrīvallabha ruled as

¹ *A R E*, 1909, part II, para 29 Mr Krishna Sastri says 'As Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara was also occupying the throne at Madura called Munaiyadaraiyan we may perhaps suppose that Māravarman Śrīvallabha was his immediate predecessor' I do not see how we can make any such supposition. Frankly, we do not know yet how these thrones were named.

For a similar reason I have refrained from accepting the proposal to treat Māravarman Kulaśekhara of Nos 465 and 466 of 1909 as a contemporary or successor of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha on the strength of the mention of Kalingarāyan both as the name of a seat and as an officer (see *A R E*, 1910, part II, para 36). I may notice incidentally that Mr Sastri does not seem to be quite correct when he considers that historical introductions are a 'special characteristic feature of the Pāndya records prior to the time of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I' (*A R E*, 1909, part II, para 29).

² *Trav Arch Series*, vol IV, p 124

³ *A R E*, 1917, pp 94 and 109 The *tithi* according to calculation ought to be 2 but the inscription gives *prathamai*

late as A.D. 1160 and it may after all turn out that this record belongs to some other king.

It has been mentioned that there is reference to a Pillayar Kulāśekhara in the records of Śrīvallabha and that this prince is most probably identical with Kulāśekhara who figures in a civil war in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century.¹ This war is recorded in considerable detail 'in true epic fashion' in the *Mahānīṣa*.² The account of the *Mahānīṣa* is confirmed in important particulars by the Chola inscriptions of the period; these inscriptions also leave no room for doubt that both the Ceylonese and the Chola versions of this war are partisan accounts from which it is difficult to sift the truth. The *Mahānīṣa* gives the story in chapters 76 and 77. The Chola inscriptions mentioning the civil war and the events in it are

10 of 1899—Arpal stone inscription of fifth year of Tribhuvānecarivarmā Rājadhiraḍvā

105 of 1915—Tiruvāṅkōla stone inscription of Rājākṣarivarman Rājadhiraḍvā (damaged)

433 of 1924—Pillayarāṣṭrappettai—(Māvayiram Taluq) stone inscription of the sixth year of Rājākṣarivarman Tribhuvānecarivarmā Rājadhiraḍvā

besides No. 1 of 1899—Tiruvallambudur stone inscription in the fourth year of Kulottunga III, according to Mr Venkayya

¹ A record (101 of 1908) from Tirupputtūr in the fifth year of Tribhuvānecarivarmā Rājadhiraḍvā which gives detail which yields July 23, A.D. 1160, seems to belong to Mar Śrīvallabha's son and successor—the Kulāśekhara of the civil war. His accession would then count from A.D. 1161-62. See Sewell, *IA*, vol. xlv, p. 255, following Mr L. D. S. Milne and Pillai.

² Still the best discussion of the war is Mr Venkayya's in *ARE* 1890. Secondary accounts are found in Mr K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Deccan*, pp. 154-61 and Dr S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 1-11.

According to the *Mahāvamśa* the war was undertaken after the sixteenth year of Parākramabāhu I, i.e. after A.D. 1168-9. But the Ārpākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja is dated in his fifth year which began in A.D. 1167 and shows that the war must have begun before that date. It is not easy to say whether the discrepancy is due to an error in the *Mahāvamśa* chronology or in that of the Ārpākkam record. Attention may be drawn however to the fact that in the Ārpākkam record and in some others¹ the Chola king is called Parakēsarivarman whereas the usual epithet of Rājādhirāja II (*acc.* A.D. 1163) is Rājākēsarivarman. It must also be noticed that if Śrīvallabha reigned till A.D. 1169 the war commenced more probably after A.D. 1168-9. In any case, the error is not much and the exact manner of adjusting it will have to be decided after further study.²

The *Mahāvamśa* account opens with the siege of Madura, which was in the occupation of Parākrama Pāndya, by Kulaśēkhara. Kulaśēkhara was probably the son of Śrīvallabha and the legitimate claimant to the throne. We do not know who Parākrama was and how he got to be in Madura. It will be remembered, however, that Māravarman Śrīvallabha is said to have ruled from Tinnevely and this would mean that Kulaśēkhara on his accession must have done so too, and in this we may have some explanation of the occupation of the northern part of the Pāndya country by a rival prince.

¹ *S I I*, vol. III, p. 207.

² See Hultzsch, *J R A S*, 1913, pp. 518-9. Dr S. K. Aiyangar starts his account of the war with the statement 'In A.D. 1170 or 1171 there were two rival claimants to the throne of Madura,' (p. 2, *op. cit.*) and in a note at pp. 41-2 proposes A.D. 1171-2 for the accession of Rājādhirāja II referring to *A R E*, 1904, para 21. But the matter is not simple and seems to deserve further investigation.

A tempting suggestion offers itself and may be stated here with the reservation that it cannot be taken as proved until further evidence confirms it. A very interesting record (35 of 1913) in the fourth year of a Parākrama Pāndya incidentally refers to the fourth year of Vikrama Chola and to Perumāḷ Kulōttungadēva, which must be taken to mean Kulōttunga II, the successor of Vikrama Chola. The object of the inscription is to record the renewal of a charter of privileges granted to certain Pallis in the Aduturai temple several years before, when they rescued some images of the Aduturai temple which were being removed to Halēbīd, apparently as a result of a military raid into the Chola country by the Hoysala king Viśnuvardhana I who claims to have marched right up to Rāmēśvaram. The privileges were renewed in the fourth year of Parākrama Pāndya, as stated above, and if this Parākrama was the same as the opponent of Kulaśēkhara, then it would mean that Parākrama had been ruling from Madura for some time as a separate ruler independent of Kulaśēkhara when the latter attacked him, or it may be that he started as a subordinate ruler at first and that Kulaśēkhara attacked him when he sought to make himself independent.¹

However that might have been, when Kulaśēkhara attacked him, Parākrama appealed for aid to Parākrama-bāhu of Ceylon, who sent an army under the general Lankāpura. But before the Singhalese forces came to the mainland, Kulaśēkhara succeeded in capturing and putting to death Parākrama with his queen and children and in occupying the city of Madura. But the king of Ceylon wanted his general to proceed against

¹ *A.R.E.*, 1913, part II, paras 46-7

Kulaśēkhara and, after driving him out, to bestow the Pāndyan kingdom on one of the surviving children of the murdered Pāndyan king. And thus began the war which, as it is narrated in the *Mahāvamśa*, was nothing but a triumphant progress of victory upon victory against Kulaśēkhara, won at first by Lankāpura and later by Lankāpura and Jagad Vijaya who had joined him with reinforcements, until in the end Kulaśēkhara was expelled from the Pāndyan kingdom and Vīra Pāndya, the son of Parākrama Pāndya, was crowned at Madura.¹ It is not necessary to trace these skirmishes in detail as the *Mahāvamśa* account is not yet corroborated in material particulars and as it is not easy now to identify many small places whose names have been more or less distorted in the chronicle. It may be noticed, however, that Kulaśēkhara found it possible after successive defeats to place fresh armies in the field and it was not till sometime after Vīra Pāndya's coronation that he turned to the Cholas for help against the Singhalese troops. The intervention of the Cholas made no difference to the fortunes of Kulaśēkhara, who sustained still further defeats and at last 'the Singhalese general was satisfied that he had rid the country of the enemy and, before going back to Ceylon, made over the kingdom to Vīra Pāndya, and ordered that the *Kahāpāna* coin bearing the superscription of king Parakkama, *i.e.* Parākramabāhu

¹ It is just likely that the Sucīndram record beginning சுவமிநாதையம் (Trav Arch Series, vol ii, pp 18ff) is an inscription of this Vīra Pāndya. If that is so, Vīra Pāndya must have married a Kēraḷa princess after his campaign mentioned in l 3 of the record and this will explain his flight to Travancore after his final defeat. It may be noted that this record registers a gift almost immediately after the coronation. Mr Gopinatha Rao in editing this record mixes up this Vīra Pāndya with the conqueror of Īlam and Kongu (*acc* A D 1253) and the Kulaśēkhara of this civil war with Mar Kulaśēkhara (*acc* A D 1268).

should be used throughout the country.' So far the *Mahāvaṃśa*

There need be little doubt that this account is very one-sided. The Ceylon generals are said to have given presents to several chiefs in the Pāndya country and these 'look like bribes offered to win them over from their allegiance to Kulaśēkhara'. Thus the success against Kulaśēkhara was not always won on the field of battle. And after the Chola intervention, it would seem that the Ceylon troops actually lost ground and sustained defeats and it may be suspected that the evacuation of the Pāndya country by Lankāpura was not an entirely voluntary retirement after the successful completion of the task laid on him by his master.

Till recently almost the only epigraphical record which gave a hint as to the fortunes of the Ceylon troops was the Arpākkam inscription which contains a quaint account of a miracle wrought in connection with the war. 'The army of Ceylon having taken possession of the Pāndya country, drove away king Kulaśēkhara, who was in Madura and then began to fight in battle the feudatories of the great king Śrī Rājādhirājadēvā. The danger consequent upon the war spreading to the districts of Tondī and Pāśī combined with the (easy) way in which the army of Ceylon gained victories, struck terror into (the hearts of) people both in the Chola country and in other districts'. At this juncture, a certain Edīrīlī Sōḷa Sāmbuvarāyan felt great anxiety for his son, who had gone to fight at the head of the Chola forces and approached a holy man Svāmīdēva with the request that he should pray for divine intercession against the Ceylonese. Thereupon, His Holiness was pleased to declare 'This, the army of Ceylon, which consists of very vicious and wicked men, removed the

sacred door of the temple of the god at the holy Rāmēśvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the treasures of the temple. We also learn that they are all sinners against Siva. We shall make the necessary attempts for their flight and disappearance (?) after being completely defeated in battle and after being chased.' 'Accordingly, he was pleased to worship (Śiva) for twenty-eight days continually. Subsequently, messengers arrived from my (Śāmbuvarāyan's) son Pallavarāyar bringing a letter (to me) reporting that Jayadratha Dandanāyaka and Lankāpura Dandanāyaka and the other generals and the troops fled having been defeated.' This is the account that is dated in the fifth year of Parakēśari Rājādhirāja and that causes some difficulty, as we have seen, in the chronology of the war. Another record in the eighth year of Rājādhirāja wherein he is given his usual title Rājakēśari (No. 433 of 1924) is more historical in that it contains nothing supernatural, it is also more direct in its reference to the war. 'When the king of Ceylon (ஈழத்தரசராயன) sent his army and generals to conquer and annex the Pāndya country, the Pāndya king Kulaśēkhara fled from his kingdom and sought refuge with the Chola and entreated him to recover his kingdom for him. Thereupon the latter was pleased to direct that Kulaśēkhara be reinstalled on his throne after killing the Ceylonese commander and his lieutenants who had entered the Pāndya country and nailing up their heads over the gates of Madura. In accordance with the direction of the Chola king, Kulaśēkharadēva, during his stay in the Chola country, was entertained with deserving liberality. With enough forces, funds and zeal the Pāndya country was reconquered by the Cholas, Lankāpuri Dandanāyaka and his generals being put to death and their heads nailed on to

the gateway of Madura. Arrangements were then made for the entry of Kulaśēkharadēva into Madura after taking necessary precautions against the future annexation of the Pāndya country to Īlam'. It was the minister Pallavarāyar who did all this.¹

It will be readily seen that these two inscriptions agree with the *Mahāvamsa* in important particulars. The names of Dandanāyaka Lankāpuri and the Madura king Kulaśēkhara and the intervention of the Cholas in favour of Kulaśēkhara are common to them all. But both the epigraphs refer to defeats sustained by the Ceylon forces about which the *Mahāvamsa* is silent, and there is a rather grave disagreement in detail between the two inscriptions as to the fate of the Ceylon generals. The Ārpākkam record states that they returned to Ceylon after their defeat by Pallavarāyar, while the other inscription says that their heads were nailed to the gates of Madura by order of the Chola king. And if we recall that a still later record of the twelfth year of Rājākēsari Rājādhirāja (465 of 1905) refers to this same war and to the part played in it by a traitor named Śrīvallabha, it becomes clear that many gaps still remain to be filled in our account of the war.

That this war did not end with the retreat of Lankāpura and the restoration of Kulaśēkhara by the Cholas becomes clear from the Chola records of the succeeding years,² specially those of Kulōttunga III, the

¹ *A R E*, 1924, part II, para 21

² Referring to No 3 of 1899 of the eleventh year of Rājākēsari Rājādhirāja in which he bears the title 'who had conquered Madura and Ceylon', Mr Venkayya says (*A R E*, 1899, para 38) — 'If this king is identical with Parākēśaravarman *alias* Rājādhirāja Dēvan, who was an ally of the Pāndya king Kulaśēkhara, the attribute prefixed to his name in the Ālanguḍi inscription, which would be six years later than the Ārpākkam one, was probably based on the victories achieved by the Cholas during his reign in

successor of Rājādhīrāja II. We do not know how long Kulaśēkhara lived after the restoration, it may have been at most for about a decade from the eighth year of Rājādhīrāja to the second or third of Kulōttunga III—A.D. 1170-80 roughly. Thereupon he seems to have been succeeded by a Vikrama Pāndya¹ and on the accession of Vikrama Pāndya, Vīra Pāndya appears to have made another attempt, again with Ceylonese help, to dislodge the Kulaśēkhara line, once more the Cholas came to the aid of the latter and the war was renewed. An undated inscription, later than the fourth year of Kulōttunga (1 of 1899), i.e., A.D. 1182, records that 'the son or sons of Vīra Pāndya were defeated by the Chola army. The Singhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea to escape from the Chola troops. Vīra Pāndya himself was attacked by the Cholas and compelled to retreat. The town of Madura was captured and the Chola army took possession of the Pāndya throne and planted a pillar of victory (at Madura). The town of Madura, the Pāndya throne and the kingdom

a later campaign against Vīra Pāndya and his Singhalese allies in which Kulōttunga III distinguished himself, and in consequence, assumed a surname similar to that of Rājādhīrājādēva' (see *SI I*, vol iii, part i, No 36). But may it not be that Rājādhīrāja assumed the surname merely as a result of Pallavarāyar's campaigns against Lankāpuri? Mr Venkayya himself noticed in the same place No 1 of 1899 and found subsequently other records of Kulōttunga III which give reasons for Kulōttunga's surname (*ARE*, 1907, p 62, para 40 and 1908, p 67 para 64). Moreover, further research has shown that Kulōttunga III could not have been more than twelve or thirteen years of age in the eleventh year of Rājādhīrāja's reign (*ARE*, 1924, part ii, para 20).

It may also be noticed that No 1 of 1899 is not dated in the fourth year of Kulōttunga III, but appears to be of some date later than his fourth year. (*SI I Texts*, vol vi—No 436, esp 1 15.)

¹ We hear of a Sundara Pāndya co-operating with Kulaśēkhara in a subordinate capacity in the *Mahāvamsa* account of the war and do not know how he was related to Kulaśēkhara or what happened to him.

were then made over to Vikrama Pāndya, who was an ally of the Cholas.' The same incidents are recorded in later inscriptions of Kulōttunga III with small variations.¹ The title 'capturer of the Pāndya country' assumed by Ammayappan Rājarāja Śāmbuvarāya, as early as the fourth year of the king (A.D. 1182) shows that he rendered valuable help to his Chola overlord, by whom he must have been so honoured.² Kulōttunga himself assumed the title Pāndyāri and performed the *Vīrabhāṣa* after the capture of Madura.³ This was apparently after a second rebellion by Vīra Pāndya and a battle at Nettūr in which he was beaten and captured with his queen as recorded in an inscription of the eleventh year of Kulōttunga (A.D. 1188-89). Two records of the sixteenth year (42 and 43 of 1906) mention the flight of Vīra Pāndya and his relatives seeking refuge in Travancore.⁴ And an inscription in the nineteenth year furnishes the comment on the phrase *பாண்டியனை முடித்தல் செய்து* employed in the record of the eleventh year and states that Kulōttunga placed his foot on Vīra Pāndya's crown (*அவன் முடிமேல் அடி வைத்து*) and then gave him some presents and dismissed him.⁵ It must have been after this that Vīra Pāndya proceeded

¹ *A R E*, 1899, para 38, Ins Nos 66 of 1892, 42 and 43 of 1906, 190-192 of 1907, and 94 of 1915. Also *S I I*, vol iii, pp 205-6, No 86, pp 210-11 and No 88, p 217.

² *A R E*, 1918, part ii, para 39.

³ *A R E*, 1908, part ii, para 64. Also *S I I*, vol iii, p 214, inscription No 87 (ll 2-4).

⁴ Ref in the preceding note and *A R E*, 1907, part ii, para 40.

⁵ Dr S K Aiyangar thinks that the explanation of Hultzsch, which I have followed in the text, is not supported by the phrases employed in the inscription, p 13 and n 2 of p 14 of *S India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. It is not possible to reconcile the view that his head was cut off in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga after the battle of Nettūr, with Vīra Pāndya's escape to Travancore recorded in the sixteenth year. Hultzsch's explanation may, for this reason, be preferred.

to Travancore as recorded in the sixteenth year. We do not know anything as to what happened to him afterwards. Whatever happened to Vīra Pāndya and his relatives, it seems clear that Kulōttunga succeeded in establishing Vikrama Pāndya on the Pāndya throne and thus putting an end to all disputes about the succession in which the Cholas and the Ceylon kings had taken sides for over a decade. But it is not yet possible to ascribe any inscriptions with confidence to this Vikrama Pāndya and we cannot say if he was the immediate predecessor or not of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara who came to the throne of the Pāndyas in A.D. 1190, the allusion to the time of Periyānāyanār Śrīvallabha in a record of Kulaśēkhara (No 110 of 1907) must however be borne in mind in coming to a conclusion on this question.¹

The intervention of Kulōttunga III in favour of Vikrama was apparently the last occasion on which the Cholas were able to interfere effectively in the affairs of the southern kingdom. 'Either during the latter portion of his reign or on his death, the power of the Cholas seems to have declined, though the causes cannot now be easily ascertained. He was succeeded about the year A.D. 1216 by his son Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājārājadēva III whose capacity for military organization does not appear to have been very high. He has no exploits to boast of. It was evidently the weakness of the Cholas that led to the occupation of the Chola country by the Hoysalas under Vīra Sōmēśvara and to the conquest of Kānchī by the Kākatīya king Ganapati.'² After

¹ Dr S. K. Aiyangar thinks 'It is just possible that this Kulaśēkhara (acc. A.D. 1190) was the son of Vikrama and the grandson of the Kulaśēkhara whose cause the Cholas supported in the war of succession'—*Op cit* p. 44. *Contra* Rangacharya under Tj 918=539 of 1904.

² *A R E*, 1900, paras 29 and 30.

the close of the civil dissensions in the Pāndya country brought about by Kulōttunga's intervention, the Pāndya kings appear to have recovered remarkably and it turned out that Kulōttunga had thus only increased the difficulties of his successor and forced him to seek the help of the Hoysalas—a step which only added still further to his troubles and those of the Chola empire. But we are touching on the political conditions out of which was to grow the Second Empire of the Pāndyas which lasted in great power throughout the thirteenth century A D

CHAPTER X

THE PĀNDYAS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

(1190-1238)

AFTER the close of the civil wars and the secure restoration by Kulōttunga III of Vikrama Pāndya to the throne of Madura, the Pāndya kingdom recovered rapidly much of the power and glory that characterized it in the days before the sack of Madura by Parāntaka I. We have at present no means of judging how far Vikrama Pāndya himself profited by his opportunity. He seems to have had on the whole a troubled time, and he was apparently a weak ruler who depended more on Kulōttunga's support than on his own strength for defending himself against the attacks of his enemies. Even when he had occupied the throne for seven or eight years, it needed Kulōttunga's intercession to maintain his power, when Vīra Pāndya attacked him in some force about A D 1187. After the campaign which ended in the defeat of Vīra Pāndya at Nettūr, Kulōttunga held a great durbar in the Pāndya capital at which Vīra Pāndya and his Chera contemporaries did him obeisance and Kulōttunga placed his foot on the head of the former¹. Thus, almost throughout his reign—Vikrama does not seem to have long survived the events just

¹ The facts are narrated in two records of Kulōttunga dated in his eleventh and nineteenth years (Nos 87 and 88 in *SII*, vol iii, part ii). The later record gives more details than the earlier, but the reference is evidently to the same transactions. See also the notes at the end of the last chapter.

different results in the hands of different scholars, and often in the hands of the same scholar at different times. New kings have been postulated and given up in a manner that has tended to make the chronology of the age a game of ninepins. As one wades through the results of Kielhorn, Jacobi, Swamikkannu Pillai and Sewell, one almost gets the feeling that ignorance, at least of astronomy, is bliss and the general rule followed in our narrative is not to accept any conclusion that is not endorsed by more than one of these four earnest savants whose patient labours, especially those of Kielhorn, have alone rendered possible even such a provisional narrative as is given here. It must be noted also that palæography fails to furnish any material assistance in confirming or correcting the results of astronomy. Mr. Sewell remarks ¹ 'Unless the number of the solar day of the month is stated, and it is not as a rule stated, all the ordinary details of a Chola or Pāndya date will be found often to correspond with about three different days in a century', and palæography cannot possibly decide among them ². And even the texts of most of these records are yet unpublished. It is obvious that in the present state of our knowledge we shall have to leave on one side all the records which cannot with confidence be assigned to

¹ *IA*, vol. xlv, p. 169

² Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, for instance, after wavering between two dates for a Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāndya's accession 1269-70 and A. D. 1283 and between two rulers of the same name, finally gave up the A. D. 1283 date altogether, epigraphy furnishes no aid here. (See *ARE*, 1922, part II, para 31 and *ARE*, 1925, part II, para 28). The reader may also be referred to the strange manner in which the official epigraphist discusses No. 393 of 1917 at para 49 of part II of the report for 1918. It should be noticed in particular that even when it is a question of dates centuries apart (in this case eleventh and thirteenth centuries) palæography is inconclusive. Sewell, at p. 191, *IA*, vol. xlv, makes a similar remark.

(No. 5 of 1894), பூஷின் கிழந்தி (No 14 of 1894) and பூதலவனிதை (13 of 1894) None of these introductions tells us anything definite about the events of the reign, all of them contain highly poetic praise of the glory of the king, the nearest approach to a concrete historical statement occurs in the பூதலவனிதை formula in the phrase¹—‘வஞ்சினநகூறு மதகனிழிவறநத வெஞ்சின வேநகை விலலுடனொளிப்ப,’ which is a vague hint that the Pāndya kingdom is beginning to hold its own against its Chola and Chera neighbours. A rather early inscription of the reign (No. 665 of 1916) from Śērmādēvi refers to a gift by the king to a temple in the name of his brother-in-law (மச்சனனா) Kōdai Ravivarman, undoubtedly a Chera prince. Another record of some years later (No 370 of 1916) seems to imply that the contemporary Tīruvadi king of Jētunganādu was a subordinate of Kulaśēkhara, but we have as yet no means of explaining the dynastic connection mentioned in the earlier record.² In the numerous inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara from the Ramnad district, is found the name of one of the important local officials of the king, who seems to have played a considerable part for over a decade in the administration of the division known as Kalavalinādu and was thence known as Kalavalī-Nādālvan, his proper name being mentioned as Jayangondaśōlan Śivalluvan (No. 313 of 1923)³ Several other instances can be cited from the other records of this and other kings. From the provenance of Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions we may conclude that his rule extended over the bulk of the modern districts of Madura, Ramnad and

¹ See *S I I*, vol v, No 428, ll 2-3, *contra* the conjectural restoration கனிழி [கடாத்தி] in l. 1 of No 301 of the same volume. Some records (e.g. 512 of 1904 and 385 of 1914) seem to take us to the thirty-ninth year of a Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara. But the texts are not available.

² See *A R E*, 1917, part II, para 8.

³ *A R E*, 1924, part II, para 26.

baram. Apparently, during his sojourn in Chidambaram, he sent for his defeated enemy saying that he would restore to him the country and crown that he had recently lost, and the Chola king returned and together with his son prostrated before the royal seat of the victorious Pāndya, the victor, true to his word, restored the crown and country of the Chola in the form of a religious gift, which was confirmed by the issue of a royal rescript with the Pāndyan seal on it and the title of Cholapati to the vanquished ruler. So much we learn from the record of the seventh year. It may also be noted that in the records of the seventh and subsequent years Sundara Pāndya gets one or another of the titles சோனாடுகொண்டருளிய, சோனாடு கொண்டு முடி கொண்ட சோழபுரத்து வீர அபிஷேகம் பண்ணியருளிய and சோனாடு வழங்கியருளிய, the first title appearing even as early as the third year of the king (No 362 of 1906)

Now, there is little reason to doubt that the facts so recorded in Sundara's inscriptions are substantially true, and the language of every inscription makes it a paean of triumph. For the first time after several centuries of subjection to Chola rule, followed by a period of civil war and abject dependence on Chola support, Sundara Pāndya apparently in the prime of life had successfully carried fire and sword into the heart of the Chola country and what was more, had, by an act of political good-sense in restoring the Chola country to its vanquished ruler, raised himself and his country in the estimation of his contemporaries. The ground had been prepared in the days of Kulaśēkhara, but so long as Kulōttunga III lived, the memory of the support Vikrama Pāndya had had at his hands against Vīra survived, and Kulōttunga himself was a more capable ruler than his ill starred successor Rājarāja III. Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāndya

were called to power about the same time, and they had no old memories, either of them, that need have hampered their ambitions. And it was the law of life in those days among Indian kings that he who could not be hammer had to be anvil ¹ It would seem that Sundara Pāndya invaded the Chola country very early in his reign, though the restoration of the country is not mentioned till the seventh year ²

The inscriptions of the twentieth year repeat these facts in identical language and add some further particulars. The king of North Kongu came and complained to Sundara Pāndya of the wrongs done to him by his relatives, then, after some time, came also the king of South Kongu, accompanied by an army and prostrated himself before the Pāndya, Sundara kept both the chiefs as his guests for some time and then dismissed them after imposing his own terms on them and demanding portions of their territory to be ceded to him on pain of death. Then, the Chola monarch, forgetful of the duty of submission and gratitude, refused to Sundara Pāndya, raised the standard of revolt and refused the usual tribute,

¹ Dr S K Aiyangar makes a note on the Cholas a war of revenge (*op cit* p 26, 41, 13-14). He holds that the Pāndyas felt the insult of Kulōttunga at Madura after the battle of Neṭṭūr and wanted to avenge his wrongs by the durbar at Mudikondaśōlapuram. I am not clear about this. But it should be remembered that Kulōttunga supported Parākrama Pāndya and only insulted his enemy Vira who represented the beaten party in the civil war. Again, Kulōttunga put off Vira's head on the field of battle and caused it to be brought to the durbar in order that he, with his queen by his side, might set his foot on it (we have not accepted this view. See chap ix), and there, 'nothing in the 'Revenge' of Sundara Pāndya, to remind us of this barbarity. I accept Dr S K Aiyangar's identification of Mudikondaśōlapuram with Jayangondaśōlapuram (n 2, p 44, *op cit*)

² 362 of 1906 from Kudumiyāmalai (third year), 122 of 1910—Tenkarai (fourth year) and 353 of 1916—Tiruvālisvaram (fifth year) and 122 of 1903—Tiruccunai (five+one year) contain the title 'who took the Chola country' but no reference to the restoration.

there followed another expedition into the Chola country, leading to a battle which is described in considerable detail, but after a conventional manner. After the fight the Chola king was absolutely defenceless. The women of the Chola king including his chief queen fell into the hands of the enemy who carried them in captivity to Mudikondaśōlapuram, where, apparently, there was another *Vīrābhīsēka* celebrated by the victorious Pāndya.

It is not easy to interpret these new particulars and relate them to the facts recorded in the earlier inscription so as to make a connected story. Apparently, between the seventh year of Sundara and the twentieth, i.e., between, say, A.D. 1222-3 and A.D. 1235-6, he found occasion to interfere in the affairs of the Kongu country and lead a second expedition against the Chola king. There seems to be no means of verifying or controlling the vague references to the rulers of North and South Kongu and their relations to Sundara Pāndya. It is more important to clear up, as far as possible, the relations between Sundara Pāndya and his Chola contemporary Rājarāja III, and in doing so, account must be taken of indications given by contemporary records other than those of Sundara Pāndya himself.

Rāja Rāja III ruled from A.D. 1216 to about A.D. 1243. About A.D. 1220-23, must have taken place the first invasion of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya, and the conquest and restitution of the Chola country recorded in his inscription of the seventh year. A record of Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II in the year A.D. 1222 states that he was marching against Śrīraṅgam in the south while another dated two years later A.D. 1224, calls him the establisher of the Chola kingdom.¹ There there's the

¹ Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also p. 112.

well-known Tiruvēndīpuram inscription in the sixteenth year of Rāja Rāja (A.D. 1231-32), from which we learn that the Chola emperor, who had been imprisoned by his rebellious feudatory Kōpperunjinga, was released and restored to power, by the intervention of two generals of Vīra Narasimha, in order to maintain his reputation of being the establisher of the Chola country. Lastly, we have the record of Sundara Pāndya in his twentieth year (A.D. 1235-6) which gives the story of another defeat and dethronement of Rāja Rāja. These are the facts relevant to an understanding of the history of the period, and the chronology indicated above seems to be rather well established.

There is reason also to think that at this time the Pāndya, Chola and Hoysala families were connected by marriage alliances. A Chola princess is known to have been among the queens of Narasimha's father Ballāla II¹ Rājendra III, the successor of Rāja Rāja, calls Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasimha, uncle (*Māma*)² Again, Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II (*acc.* 1238) refers also to Sōmēśvara as *Māmadu*, uncle or father-in-law, and it has been suggested that this relationship may be explained by supposing that Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I (*acc.* 1216) married a sister of Sōmēśvara,³

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v, p. xxii, *Q J M S*, vol. ii, p. 120

² *E I*, vol. vii, Kielhorn's inscriptions of South India, No. 865, (No. 65 of 1892).

³ *A R E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26 and 1912, part ii, para 34. It may be noted that Mr. Krishna Sastri's assumption that Tribhuvanacakravartin Konērinmaikonḍān of Nos. 526 and 527 of 1911 was Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II does not appear essential to his argument, as it would be if these records began முல்லாதிரும. In the absence of information on this point, and in view of the records being signed by officers of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I, one is tempted to assign these records to this ruler rather than to his successor. If this is correct, and if Mr. Krishna Sastri's conjecture about Pammiyakkan can be upheld by further evidence, then these records will become very important in settling the main lines of the tangled diplomacy

probably the one mentioned in some Pāndya records of the age as Pammiyakkan. And, as we shall see, under Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II, the Pāndya and the Hoysala rulers were on very friendly terms. These facts go to show that by virtue of their power and their dynastic connections, the Hoysalas of this period were able and perhaps anxious in their own interest to regulate the affairs of the southern kingdoms, in particular the relations between the Pāndyas and the Cholas. It appears likely, therefore, that the restitution of the Chola country (c. A.D. 1222) to its ruler by Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I after the first conquest was not altogether unconnected with Narasimha's march against Śrīrangam about the same time.

Now what was the nature of Narasimha's intervention? In effect, it seems to have ended in the re-establishment of the Chola on the throne and the consequent assumption of the title *Cholarāja* (*mandala*) *pratisthācārya* by Narasimha. It is not however so easy to judge what the effect of the intervention was on the Pāndya king and his kingdom. The Pāndya conquest of the Chola country is referred to as early as the third year of Sundara Pāndya, while the restoration of the kingdom is not mentioned in any inscription earlier than the seventh year. The interval, A.D. 1219-23, covers, in Hoysala history, the death of Ballāla II and the early years of Narasimha II. An inscription of Narasimha in A.D. 1223 (Cn. 197)¹ gives him the titles 'displacer of

of the age on the lines indicated in the text in a very tentative manner. See also *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1920, p. 48.

No. 15 of 1912 from Tinnevely contains a gift to the local temple by a relative of an officer of Sōmēśvara.

¹ The summary that follows is based on Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v, part 1, Introd. pp. xxii ff.

Pāndya (*Pāndya disāpattanum*), and establisher of the Chola kingdom' Another of the same date (Cn. 203) says— 'why describe his forcible capture of Adiyama, Chera, Pāndya, Magara and the powerful Kādavas? Rather describe how he lifted up Chola, brought under his orders all the land as far as Sētu' Narasimha is called 'Indra to the mountain, the pride of the Pāndya champion'. (Ak 82 of A D 1234). There is also a reference in a record of A.D 1237 (Ak. 123)¹ to a victorious expedition (*digvijaya*) against the Pāndya and to 'the sea roaring out with the sounds of great fish, sharks and alligators, saying to Pāndya kings, give up all, and live in peace as his servants.' A much later record of one of his successors (Bl 74) dated in A D 1261 says that Narasimha 'setting up the Chola, who was covered up by the dust from the feet of the hosts of enemies, acquired fame as the establisher of the Chola and the destroyer of the Pāndya' Now, the vague reference to the sea advising the Pāndyas to surrender (Ak 123) may be dismissed as poetic and also the reference to Narasimha's fame as 'destroyer of the Pāndya' may be discounted as a late account not entitled to the same weight as the strictly contemporary references in the earlier records The phrase 'displacer of the Pāndya' may be taken to furnish the clue to a correct estimate of the nature of Narasimha's intervention on behalf of the

¹ Rice remarks in his summary of this inscription that it 'describes the king as encamped in A D 1234 at Ravitadāna-kuppa while on a victorious expedition over the Pāndya', and this has led Mr Krishna Sastry to postulate a Hoysala invasion of the Pāndya country in continuation of the Śūdamangalam expedition (1232-3) of the Hoysala generals recorded at Tiruvēndipuram *A R E*, 1911, part ii, para 47 and *Q J M S*, vol ii, p 122 But a reference to the text and translation of AK 123 shows that the date, Śaka 1156, refers to the setting up of the God Laksmi Narasimha in Somanāthpur and *not* to the encampment

Chola ruler He did not want the Chola power to disappear altogether to the great aggrandizement of the Pāndya, he therefore made up his mind to help the Chola to regain his kingdom, this meant that the Pāndya ruler had to agree to restore the Chola country in the manner described already, and to that extent it was a setback to the Pāndya power It is however quite possible that in the final settlement, the Pāndya and the Hoysala monarchs took each something for himself from the Chola empire. Such an end to this intervention may explain the conquests of Narasimha near Śrīrangam at this time, and the claim of tribute which Sundara Pāndya seems to have enforced successfully against the Chola for some years. In other words, Narasimha's intervention was as much diplomatic as it was military, as much in his own as it was in the Chola interest We have no means of deciding whether the dynastic connection between the Hoysalas and the Pāndyas is to be dated before or after the events or was part of the settlement on this occasion ¹

There is very little evidence to show that, as has sometimes been held,² the Pāndya ruler had the co-operation of Kōpperunjinga in his war against the Chola king. The very full records of the Pāndya ruler make no reference to this, nor does the Tiruvēndipuram

¹ If this reconstruction of the relations is correct, we must assume that the Hoysala records exaggerate the achievements of Narasimha in a military sense as against the Pāndya king, a feature which seems quite natural if we compare it to the silence of the Pāndya inscriptions as to the actual causes of the restoration of the Chola country

² E g by Dr S K Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp 33-6 It must be observed that the mention of Kāḍava or Kāḍavas in the Hoysala records (e g Cn 203) is not conclusive proof of such an alliance as many chieftains seem to have had this title at the time See, however, Mr Shama Sastry on the *Gadyakarnāmṛta* in the *Mys Arch Report*, 1924, p 12

inscription, which gives the account of Kōpperunjinga's rebellion against Rāja Rāja, give any hint of the Pāndya ruler being involved in it. The Hoysalas had an important interest in the Chola ruler and his country, apparently all through Rāja Rāja's reign, and they were ever ready to rescue him from the numerous misfortunes to which he was subject. But on the occasion of the second conquest of the Chola country by Sundara Pāndya (c A D 1234-5) the Hoysalas seem to have left Rāja Rāja to shift for himself, at any rate we do not know that they actively interfered, although Rāja Rāja even after his apparently crushing defeat, seems still to have continued in some power up to A D 1243.

Thus the two expeditions of Sundara Pāndya against the Chola country do not appear to have resulted in any permanent occupation or conquest of the Chola country, though there are some records of this king outside the Pāndya country which confirm the historicity of the events recorded in the inscriptions cited above.¹ The direct

¹ Some of these records may be noted here,—one record from Śrīrangam in the ninth year (No 53 of 1892-*S I I* Texts, vol iv, No 500) which refers to a reform in the temple affairs, No 52 of 1897 in the seventh year from Tirukkāttupallī recording the building of a shrine to the Goddess (*E I*, vol vi, p 304) and No 270 of 1901 from Kōviladī (Tanjore Taluq) may, among others, be surely ascribed to our king as they all refer to his conquest or restoration of the Chola country. I doubt if records like 41 and 561 of 1921 from Big Kānchīpuram and Śūlamangalam (respectively) which do not contain any specific reference to the conquest of the Chola among the titles of the king may, on grounds of astronomy alone, be ascribed to this king as has been done.

A R E, 1926 contains a discussion of this king's reign which may be briefly noticed here. The epigraphist is surely wrong in saying that the anointment at Mudikondaśōlapuram is mentioned only in the records of the fourteenth year and afterwards (see inscription of the seventh year summarized earlier in this chapter). He says that some historical introductions of this king refer to conquests of the two Kongus, Iḷam and Karuvūr. The only instances seem to be No. 9 of 1926 and No 72 of 1924 which cause a difficulty by

and effective sway of Māravarman Śundara Pāndya I must be taken to have been more or less confined to the Pāndya country, including in it portions of modern Pudukkottah and Trichinopoly, this at any rate is the conclusion that arises from the provenance of the many inscriptions that can be assigned to him without any possibility of doubt. There are references in the records (546 of 1922, 148 of 1908, etc.) to a throne Maḷavarāyan at Madura, one record (No. 77 of 1916) refers to a throne of the same name in a palace at Pon Amarāvati in Puramalaiṇādu, it also refers to a Mudivaḷangumperumāḷśandi evidently instituted in commemoration of the restitution of the Chola crown and the date of the record is 528 days after the fifth year, i.e., the seventh year of the king. The coins¹ with the legend *Śōnādu-kondān* must also be ascribed to this king. A record from Mēlkadayam (No. 524 of 1916) in the eighteenth year of the king refers to a shrine called Kaliyugarāmeśvara, which indicates that the title *Kaliyugarāma*, found also in some coin legends, may belong to our king or some predecessor of his. *Atiśayapāndyadēva* seems to have also been another title of this king.²

being mixed up with the name of Kulōttunga III and his achievements. The epigraphist says that No. 9 of 1926 records that the Chola kingdom was restored to Kulōttunga III, and after a careful consideration of the points made in his discussion, "I cannot help thinking that there is some mistake here either in the inscription or in its rendering. These two records are of the fifteenth and sixteenth years, and both come from the Ramnad district. May it be that there was something in this part of Sundarā's reign that led him to look upon himself as the successor of Kulōttunga III or to ignore his successor Rāja Rāja by adopting the device of a double historical introduction?"

¹ See Sir T. Desikachari's papers on Pāndyan Coins in the *Tamilian Antiquary*. It has been supposed that coins with the legend, *Kacci-vaḷangum perumāl* may also belong to this king, but one wishes there was more evidence in favour of the supposition than is available at present.

² No. 662 of 1916 from Śermādēvi and *A R E*, 1917, part ii, para 9.

A certain Sōlan Uyyanīmāduvān *alias* Gurukulattarayan appears to have been an important person among the officials of the king. 'No. 554 of 1922 which contains verses in praise of him states that he was the minister of the king and that he built the *garbhagrha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa* of the Perumal (Viṣṇu) temple at Tiruttangal. He is eulogized as the 'lord of Tadanganni and a one who set apart his village Ānaiyūr *alias* Tennavan Śīrūr, for conducting the Sundara Pāndyan-Śandī, in the seventh regnal year of the king. He ultimately rose to such an eminence in the state that whenever he visited the temple he enjoyed the honour of a *kūṭam* being sounded proclaiming, 'Hail! Gurukulattambirān is come.' This Gurukulattarayar also constructed a stone temple for Tāṅgāl Tār and his consort Gaurī, other benefactions of his are also recorded.' We find mention of other local chieftains like Maṭṭavar Mānikkam and Kandan Udayanṣeydān Gāṅgeyan whose benefactions enriched temples and *maṭhas* and also gave a stimulus to learning and art. We hear of a court-poet of the king introducing another poet to the chief Gāṅgeyan; and a certain 'Kaviṇāyar Tīvara Śiva Udayār of Uttaradīśam' was the *guru* of Maṭṭavar Mānikkam and recipient of a '*Gurudakṣiṇā*' in the shape of land.² Several other records of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya contain interesting references to institutional and cultural matters, but these references are best received for consideration together with similar records of other Pāndyan kings of the Second Empire.

The latest records of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya

¹ *A.R.P.*, 1923, Part II, pages 49-59.

² *A.R.P.*, 1924, Part II, par. 29 and 32.

are dated in his twenty-third year¹ and his reign must be taken to have come to a close some time in A.D. 1238-1239. The immediate successor or the heir-apparent in the last years of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was a Jātavarman Kulaśekhara who seems to have had a very short reign, his accession being somewhere in June A.D. 1238.² • Sewell remarked in 1915 that better proof was required than was then forthcoming for placing this king between the two Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of this period. A record from Tiruttangāl (No. 518 of 1022) furnishes such proof. This inscription,³ dated in the second year of Jātavarman Kulaśekhara refers to the gift of land in Āṇuvūr by Śōḷan Uvamanrāduvān *alias* Gurukulattarayan for the Sundara Pāṇḍyan Śāṇḍi instituted by him in honour of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (c. c. A.D. 1216). But we do not hear anything more of this Jātavarman Kulaśekhara and so far no records that could be positively ascribed to him are known to mention a regnal year later than the second. We may perhaps

¹ No. 207 of 1914 from Vellannur in Pudukkottai. At part ii, para 49, *I.R.E.* 1923 it is stated that records in twenty-two *plus* one year are known to us in the Vellannur collection, but there seems to be no inscription of the twenty-third year in that collection. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu (*I.C.E.*, vol. I part ii, p. 91) quotes a Pudukkottai record of the twenty-eighth regnal year but the date is not quite regular and may not be of this king.

² See *I.C.*, vol. xlv, pp. 190-1.

³ This is discussed in *I.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 51. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu's attempt to prove a longer regnal period for this king (*I.C.*, vol. xlii and *Ephemeris*, vol. I, part ii, p. 91) cannot be held convincing. Also *I.R.E.*, 1916, App. G. In the Pudukkottai inscriptions, Nos. 330 to 337 which give high regnal years ranging from eight to twenty-six certainly belong to the earlier king. Most of these contain references to Kandaḍi Aṇḍaiyān *alias* Kalaiyil Nāḍaiyān, who is also referred to in No. 246 of the third year of the earlier king as also in No. 269 of the eighth year of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. This Aṇḍaiyān gets dates from A.D. 1193 to 1224 roughly. It is very unlikely that he survived up to the twenty-sixth year of Jātavarman Kulaśekhara II, which would fall about A.D. 1261. The astronomical details in 330 are said to yield A.D. 1245, but, very likely, there are other solutions.

suppose that Kulaśēkhara died in the life-time of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya and that before his death, he chose as heir-apparent another Māravarman Sundara Pāndya whose accession has been placed between July 13 and December 7, A.D. 1238¹ To the reign of this Māravarman Sundara Pāndya we may therefore turn.

¹ *IA*, vol. xlv, p. 191. In No. 78 of 1916 which is a record of the Sundara Pāndya who took the Chola country, etc., there is a reference to a brother-in-law (*macannanār*) of the king, whose name was Kulaśēkhara. One wonders if this brother-in-law is identical with the shortlived king Jat Kulaśēkhara II. But there is nothing to support this conjecture except the name.

CHAPTER XI

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA (acc. A.D. 1238)

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA (acc. A.D. 1251)

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA II succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1238. His inscriptions begin with the characteristic formula *Pāmalar Tiruvum Poru Jayama-dandaryum* and as there seems to be as yet none of these that gives a regnal year higher than 15 (No 132 of 1894), his reign must be taken to have continued up to about A.D. 1253.¹ The historical introduction of this ruler furnishes no information of any value and most of his records make large grants for various religious purposes such as the study and recitation of religious hymns in temples. There is no reason to believe that the extent of the kingdom suffered any diminution under this ruler and the political relations among the Pāndyas, Cholas and Hoysalas seem not to have altered much since the time of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I. The frequent

¹ For the date of accession, see Kielhorn *E I*, vol. viii. Also Swamikkannu in *I A*, vol. xlii and Sewell in *I A*, vol. xlii. No 141 of 1902 from Tiruvēndipuram gives the sixteenth year, but as the text is not available, it is not possible to say if it belongs to this king. A more serious difficulty is presented by No 616 of 1902 from the Tanjore district which refers to the seventeenth year and has been referred to A.D. 1255, (i.e., to our king) by Messrs Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai. But this record like some others gives the title 'who conquered every country' (e.g. 402 of 1905, 358 of 1908, 446 of 1909, 582 of 1915). I am unable to accept this as belonging to Māravarman Sundara II acc. 1238, because (a) No 462 of 1916 of the year 12 of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya 'who was pleased to take all countries' contains astronomical details which, according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai, do not suit any date between A.D. 1216 and 1315 and (b) Sewell has found the astronomical details in 616 of 1902 not quite regular (*I A*, vol. xlii, p. 192).

We have also to leave on one side for the time being three records of Māravarman Sundara from Pattamadai and Sērmūdāvi (550, 562 and 668 of 1916) with the formula *Pāmalar Tiruppuya*, etc., one of which (562) refers to the sixth year of Periyānāyanār Kulāṅkharā.

whole of Southern India up to Nellore and Cuddapah was brought for a time under Pāndya supremacy and all the rival dynasties, old and new, were beaten in the field or laid under tribute. The Cholas were reduced to a very obscure state and the Hoysalas were punished for their past aggressiveness, the Kongu country passed under the Pāndyas, and the Hoysala power was confined to its original home in Mysore. Kāñchīpura became a secondary capital of the Pāndya empire and in the south the island of Ceylon was firmly held by the Pāndyan rulers of this period, while the Kērala rulers were made tributaries of the empire. It would seem that in all these achievements Sundara Pāndya was ably assisted by princes who were more or less closely related to him and held subordinate positions in various parts of the empire. At least one of these is well-known from his records, a Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya of whom something will be said at the beginning of the next chapter.¹

¹ Reason has been shown before for not accepting the theory of five rulers reigning contemporaneously from generation to generation. Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai himself seems to have abandoned the theory on further consideration, as his discussion of Pāndya chronology (medieval) in part II of vol. I of his *Indian Ephemeris* proceeds on other lines. The new arrangement he adopts is to bring together all the Jatāvarmans and make them constitute one line of rulers and likewise make another, a second line, out of all the Mājavarmans—a course which is not supported by any reasons stated. And even so, overlapping of reigns has not been avoided. Of this very important and vexed question, I am, after a close study of the numerous records, unable to see any solution other than the one followed in the text, that is, generally to follow Kielhorn's lead and select the more important and better represented kings for being treated as in the main line of succession and to make the less known rulers subordinate in position. This is the best that can be done till some discovery enables us to settle the genealogy of the rulers of this period. The absence of published texts of most of the records relating to this period imposes a serious handicap on any one who attempts its study.

One general remark may be made. The presence of several contemporary rulers may be a sign of strength in the empire as in the case of the Chola

It has been possible to calculate within remarkably narrow limits the date of the accession to the throne of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya and to fix it between April 20 and 28, A.D. 1251¹ His records can be distinguished easily by the attribute '*Emmandalamum-kondaruliya*' which belongs only to him among the Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndyas. Several of his records also start with the characteristic string of surnames in Sanskrit commencing with *Samasta-jagadādhāra* More rarely there is a long historical introduction in Tamīl beginning *Pūmalar Valar Tīkal* Besides a long Sanskrit stone inscription in the Śrīrangam temple, there are several stanzas in Sanskrit celebrating the king's martial prowess and political power and recording his splendid gifts to various temples in Tinnevely, Chidambaram, Tirupputkūḷi, Kānchīpuram and other places But all the same, it is not possible to give a connected chronological narrative of the transactions of the emperor's reign from the numerous records of his time as so few of them are dated The Sanskrit inscriptions are all of them in verse and yield no dates whatever Of the Tamīl records, several contain astronomical particulars and generally bear regnal years, but most of these relate to private transactions or record religious gifts without containing any references to the political occurrences of the reign. Almost the only exception among

empire of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the Pāndya empire of the thirteenth, especially after the accession of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (1251), or it may be a sign of weakness as in the case of the Pāndyas of the period of decline in the Tinnevely district There will of course be a difference In the one case the presence of a strong central rule unifies the administration of the kingdom, in the other, each ruler goes his own way, and jealousy and weakness are the result

¹ See Kielhorn, *E I*, vol ix, p 227 and R Sewell following L D Swamikannu Pillai in *I A*, vol xlv, pp 192-4

the published records of the reign is an inscription in the seventh year of the king from Tīruppūnduruttī in the Tanjore district (No 166 of 1894) with the long historical introduction¹ *Pūmalai*, etc, and this gives us an idea of the king's prodigious activity in the early years of his rule

Sundara Pāndya proceeded against the Chera king with a very small force and destroyed him and his forces in a battle and ravaged the Malainādu,² he then compelled the warlike Chola of ancient lineage to pay him tribute, afterwards he attacked the Hoysalas in the region of the Kāvērī and besieged them in a fortress;³ after inflicting great losses on the Hoysala forces and killing many commanders like the brave Śingana, Sundara Pāndya captured the elephants and horses of the enemy together with a large amount of treasure and a number of women, but refrained from fighting further when he began to retreat from the field⁴ Sundara then did away with the traitorous Śēma (சேமன்)⁵,

¹ The same historical introduction was published by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao in the *Sen Tamil*, vol iv, pp 514-6 Mr Rao's text has been reproduced and translated by Dr S K Aiyangar in the Appendix to his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders* The regnal year at the end is not given and it is not known if the introduction is taken from No 166 of 1894 or a different record However that may be, the text differs in some respects from the official text published in the *S I I*, vol v, as will be seen from the subsequent notes

² Cf *Harvā Cīram* in No 179 of 1892 and *Kēralavamsa nirmūlana* in the Sanskrit introduction

³ The reading புரிசையிலடைதது is in the *S I I* text The *Sen Tamil* text leaves a gap here

⁴ 'Thinking that it is unfair to fight the Hoysala who had taken to flight, he made him ascend the mountain' i.e., perhaps go back to the plateau country (Text of the *S I I*)

⁵ Here Mr Gopinatha Rao reads சேரனை for சேமனை But the latter is no doubt the correct reading whatever it means The defeat and death of the Chera king has already been mentioned and the Sanskrit records of the reign leave no doubt as to the reading, *Ksēmais-samam-Sēṇūh* in No, 179

captured Kannanūr-Koppam which no one else could even think of approaching and ruled the rich Kāvērī country as if it were the Kanni land ¹ He imposed a tribute of elephants on the Karnāta king ² and compelled the ruler of Ceylon to surrender pearls and elephants ³ He then attacked the strong fortress of the rich city of Śēndamangalam and fought several engagements which struck terror into the heart of the Pallava, having thus become master of his territory, and captured his forces and treasure, Sundara finally restored him to the rulership of the land He then went to Chidambaram and worshiped God Nataiāja, and proceeded to Śrīrangam where he wore the garland of victory, ⁴ performed

of 1892, *Chitvā Kṣēmam* in No 52 of 1893 Also the title *Kṣēmāsūya vidārana narasiṃha* of Māravarman Vīkrama Pāndya in his records beginning *Samasta-bhuvanaēkavīra*, e g, No 122 of 1896 I am unable to identify this Kṣēma A Sēuna king was the enemy of a Gandagōpīla (*AR C*, 1920, part II, para 55) The Sēunas were the Yādavas of Dēvaḡiri

¹ There is a play on பொன்னிநாடு and கன்னிநாடு, the idea being that the Chola country became as much a part of Sundara Pāndya's empire as the traditional Pāndya country Here the conjectural பொ in the official text should certainly be க

² The words preceding கருடராஜனை are not easy to make out Mr Gopinatha's text has 'பெருவரையாணிற் பின்னகருக்காகிய' and the official text reads 'பெருவரையாணிற் பின்னருக்காகிய' while the correct reading appears to be 'பெருவரையாணிற் பின்னகருக்காகிய' which may recall 'அவன தனனை வெறபேற்றி' of a few lines before

³ Mr K V S Aiyar thinks that Sundara Pāndya refused to accept the tribute from the Ceylonese king and seized him (*Ancient Dekhan*, p 166) This is clearly wrong as the text says—'இலங்கை காவலனை யிறைகொண்டருளி' But what follows is read as 'வருதிறை மறுத்தவகனை' in the official text which looks so improbable, Mr Gopinatha Rao's text has 'வருதிறை மறுத்தவகனை' and if this is the correct reading, as very likely it is, அவன must be taken to refer to the Pallava chieftain who is mentioned a little later and this is the construction adopted by Dr S K Aiyangar

⁴ The garland of victory (வாகை) which had in it margosa flowers from the groves of Uraiyūr (கோழி) was worn at Śrīrangam, not at Chidambaram, *contra* Dr S K Aiyangar's translation.

many *talāḥaras* which pleased the eyes and hearts of all spectators and evoked many blessings from learned poets, and enriched Srīrangam. And in that temple which he rooted with gold he sat upon a splendid throne with his queen, and wore a golden crown and emulated the morning sun rising on the top of the eastern hill¹

These incidents may now be discussed in the light of the other records of the reign. The conquest of the Chera country must have taken place very early in the reign. An inscription from Innevelly (No. 75 of 1927) dated in the third year of Tribhuvancakravartin Kōṇēr-mmai-kondān gives the name Kavivenra-caturvedi-mangalam for a village in the neighbourhood and a Vīra Ravi Udayamārttundavarman is known to have been ruling in Travancore in A.D. 1251.² It is just possible that the name of the village commemorates our king's victory over the Chera king.

The campaign against the Chola king may be passed over as the Chola country in this period was practically a protectorate of the Hoysalas. The attack on Hoysala forces and the fate of the Hoysala commander Singana are referred to in a Srīrangam epigraph, where he is said to have been given over to a rutting elephant on the battlement.³ The storming of the fortifications of Kānnanūr-koppam and its occupation after the flight of the Hoysala king Vira Sōmesvara took place before the seventh year of Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya, i.e. before

¹ The text is 'നവരൂപം തലാഹരം കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു' and I am not able to see in this the proper name for the crown, *Naparōdaya*, as is done by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Earlier we have 'നവരൂപം തലാഹരം കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു കടന്നുവന്നു'.

² See *J. R. L.*, 1927, part II, para. 45. The record may also belong to Māyavarman Kulasekhara and the evidence quoted is by no means conclusive.

³ *Sen Samat*, vol. IV, p. 496-60 of 1892.

A.D. 1258. Though the Hoysalas were compelled to retreat and to accept defeat for a time, they evidently refused to give up their possessions in the Tamil country without a struggle, and there was perhaps much fighting of which we have no direct evidence now. The long Sanskrit inscription of Sundara Pāndya from Śrīrangam opens with the statement that Sundara Pāndya had just sent to the other world the Moon of the Karnāṭa Country (Sōmēśvara) who had caused much trouble to Śrīrangam.¹ And another inscription of the fourteenth year (A.D. 1264-5) from Tiruppārkkadal, North Arcot (No. 702 of 1904) registers an order issued by Sundara Pāndya from Kannanūr. The death of Sōmēśvara is generally placed about A.D. 1262 and Sundara Pāndya seems therefore to have held Kannanūr continuously from the time he occupied it some time before his seventh year. And even after the death of Vīra Sōmēśvara, his successor Rāmanātha appears to have been mostly kept out of Kannanūr during Sundara Pāndya's time.²

The relations with Ceylon may be reserved for consideration later. The conquest of Śēndamangalam and the subjugation of its Pallava or Kādava chieftain is the last military success recorded in this epigraph. This chieftain was Kōpperunṅinga whose records are found as far north as Tripurāntakam (Kurnool) and Drāksārāma (Godavari)³, he seems to have reckoned his regnal years from A.D. 1243.⁴ More than ten years earlier he

¹ *E I*, vol. iii, pp. 11 and 14.

² This seems the best way of explaining the reference to Rānamahīpati in the Śrīrangam record (No. 60 of 1892), cf. Hultzsch, *A R E*, 1892, para 7 and *E I*, vol. iii, p. 9. *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op cit*, p. 49. See also *A R E*, 1911, part ii, para 47 and 1905, part ii, para 23.

³ *E g* Nos. 198 of 1905 and 419 of 1893.

⁴ *E I*, vol. vii, p. 165. Attempts have sometimes been made to differentiate between two Kādava chieftains, father and son, and treat the father as

had attempted the overthrow of his Chola suzerain, but this rebellion being suppressed by the intervention of Hoysala Vira Narasimha II, he resumed his position as a feudatory of the Chola king Rāja Rāja III. In 1243-4 he assumed the titles '*dēva*' (king) and *Sakavibhātir narakā artha* and apparently set himself up as an independent sovereign. Ten years later he claims to have defeated certain Dandanāyakas of the Hoysala king in the battlefield at Perambalūr (Trichinopoly district) and seized their ladies and treasures.¹ The date of this record falls too early in the reign of Jātāvarman Sundara Pāndya for us to assume that this campaign of the kādava king in Trichinopoly was undertaken in concert with the Pāndya emperor against the Hoysalas. On the other hand, in the Drāksarāma record (No. 419 of 1893) dated in *Saka* 1184 (A.D. 1262) Kōpperunjinga claims to have aided in the establishment of the Pāndya empire. The records of Kōpperunjinga manifestly do not eschew hyperbole but the campaign against the Hoysalas in Trichinopoly in A.D. 1252-3, if it was undertaken in concert with Sundara Pāndya, may be taken to furnish

the opportunity of Kōva Rāja III, who figures in the Tiruvendipuram inscription and then is coming to power later in A.D. 1213 (*A.R.L.* 1906, part ii, para 5). But there is no sufficient reason yet to depart from the position taken up by Hultzsch in editing the Tiruvendipuram record (*E.I.*, vol. vii), and I am still inclined to assume only one kādava chieftain Avaniyālaṭṭir piraṇḍiṇ Kōpperunjinga *id est* Avaniyanasambhava Mahārājasimha who was subordinate to the Cholas till A.D. 1243, then assumed independence and afterwards became tributary to the Pāndya kings after the campaign of Jātāvarman Sundara Pāndya against Śāndamangalam. Alagiya Siyan Kōpperunjinga must be taken to mean Kōpperunjinga, the son of Alagiya Siyan (*A.R.L.*, 1906, part ii, para 5). The Kōpperunjinga records are characterized by certain common features which are better accounted for on the hypothesis of Hultzsch than on any other, and there is nothing intrinsically improbable in a chieftain holding power from, say, A.D. 1229 at the earliest to about A.D. 1280 at the latest. The subject cannot be pursued further here.

¹ No. 73 of 1918 from Vriddhūcalam and *A.R.L.*, 1925, part ii, para 26

some basis for the boastful title assumed in the Drākṣārāma inscription ¹

As a matter of fact, it is not easy to determine exactly the relations between Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga. If they were so friendly about A.D. 1253, it is difficult to see why Sundara Pāndya refused the tribute sent to him by the Kādava chieftain and attacked his capital with such fury and took possession of his kingdom and his army before finally restoring him to rule over his country. There is no doubt, however, that at this time Kōpperunjinga sustained a loss of status and became a subordinate tributary of the Pāndya emperor. Nearly fourteen years later the Kādava king is found remitting his tribute to the Pāndya king when he is camping in Cnidambaram ²

¹ The expression used is *Pandya mandala-sthāpana-sūtra dhārṇa* (*E I*, vol vii, 167, n 5)

² No 192 of 1914 of the fourteenth year of Jalāvarman Vira Pāndya (*A R L*, 1915, part ii, para 36)

There is an undated record (No 229 of 1925) from the Māyavaram taluq which says 'that during the regime of Kōpperunjingadēva a certain Aḷaiya Pallavar *alias* Virapratāpar kept the Hoysalas in confinement and levied tribute from the Pāndyas' (*A R E*, 1925, part ii, para 26). It is not yet possible to say what exactly this means.

An alternative reconstruction of the relations between Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga may be suggested. The campaign referred to in No 73 of 1915 (Vriḍḍhicilam) may be treated as an incident in the generally hostile relations between the Hoysalas and the rather ubiquitous Kōpperunjinga with which Sundara Pāndya had nothing to do. Then Sundara's attack on Śēndamangalām will not need any special explanation (that is not forthcoming) as it will be part of his policy of imperial expansion (*digvijaya*). And the claim in the Drākṣārāma record may be based on Kōpperunjinga's subordinate co-operation with Sundara Pāndya in his later campaigns during which, as a feudatory, he would have been bound to help Sundara Pāndya.

Mr K. A. S. Aiyar (*Ancient Deccan*, pp 167-8) supposes that Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga continued to be friendly to the end and that the campaign against Śēndamangalām was fought against the Hoysalas and for the sake of Kōpperunjinga. But in doing so he seems to have overlooked the guidance furnished by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Sundara Pāndya. *Kaṭṭakakari kūṭapūkala* in the *Samastajagad* introduction,

Thus, before the seventh year of his reign, Sundara Pāndya extended his sway over Travancore, and the modern districts of Trichinopoly (including Pudukkottah), Tanjore and South Arcot. There were other successes achieved about the same time or soon after that are mentioned in the Sanskrit introduction beginning *Saṁstajagadādhiāna* which appears as early as the seventh year of the reign (No 260 of 1906) and in other records. There is no possibility at present of determining the order in which these expeditions were undertaken by the king ¹ He is said to have subjugated the Magadai country, a name applied in mediæval records to portions of Salem and Arcot districts, and it is quite possible that this was done in the course of the war against the Hoysalas and Kōpperunjinga ² The conquest of the Kongu country must have also resulted from the same campaigns, and there is very good reason to believe that the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore formed part of the Pāndya empire for some time after Sundara Pāndya's reign ³ Lastly, Sundara Pāndya

Kūthaka nṛpaḥ prādhyaṁsi (No 182 of 1892), *Bhaktvā Kūthakadurgam* (No 52 of 1893) *Ghōradvātratha-khinna kūthaka-purī saṁpat samākar śinā* of the Śrīrangam Inscription (*E I* vol iii, p 7) and a Tamil verse among the Chidambaram inscriptions (*Śen Tamil*, vol iv, p 492) show beyond doubt that the Kādava chieftain was the enemy in the Śēndaman-galam campaign

¹ Dr S K Ayyangar (*op cit* p 50 and n 1) follows the order in which events are mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription from Tirupputkūḷi (= No 52 of 1893 from Kānchīpuram) but there appears no particular reason for accepting this order as against others, say, that in No 182 of 1892 from Chidambaram

² *Udgāmayya Magadham* in 52 of 1893 For the extent of Magadai-mandalam see *A R E*, 1925, part ii, para 42

³ See *Śen Tamil*, vol iv, p 493, *A R E*, 1906, part ii para 27 In the same report in paragraph 38 the records of Vīra Rāmanātha and Vīra Viśvanātha found in Salem and Coimbatore districts are taken to be evidence of a reconquest of this region by the Hoysalas But the fact must be interpreted in the light of the Pāndya records found in these districts *Contra* Hultzsch, *E I*, vol iii, p 11

claims to have killed Gandagōpāla, occupied Kāñchīpuram, defeated Ganapati the Kākatīya king, and performed a *Virābhīṣēka* in Nellore. This is confirmed by some inscriptions (Nos 332, 340 and 361 of 1913) from Chidambaram which contain Tamil verses stating that Sundara Pāndya 'inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas at Mudugūr, slaughtering them and their allies, the Aryas, right up to the bank of the Pērāru and driving the Bāna chief into the forest'¹. All these references are apparently to various occurrences in the course of a single campaign against the 'northern kings', and if that be so, the reference to Ganapati would mean that the campaign was undertaken some time before A D 1260. The enemy against whom the campaign was primarily directed was Gandagōpāla, a Telugu-Choda ruler who was in possession of Nellore and Kāñchīpuram. The Bāna chieftain and the Kākatīya king were perhaps the allies of Gandagōpāla whom Sundara Pāndya did not pursue after they were repulsed in battle. Gandagōpāla was however 'sent to the other world', as an inscription from Chidambaram records, and his territory was annexed to the Pāndya empire and entrusted to his brothers who were apparently to rule as feudatories of the Pāndya sovereign².

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¹ *A R E*, 1914, part II, para 18.

² *See Tamil*, vol IV p 493. The identification of Gandagōpāla and of the Aryan allies of the Telungas presents considerable difficulty. For the Aryas, see Dr S K Aiyangar *op cit*, p 49, n 4, also the reference given in the preceding note. It is not clear why Prof S K Aiyangar says 'the Aryas are referred to in connection with the Hoysalas in all the three references to them we have'. I have tentatively assumed that it is a reference to Ganapati and his forces which aided Gandagōpāla.

From the expression *Viragandagōpāla vīṇa dāva dahana* in the Sanskrit introduction, it has been assumed (e.g. *A R E*, 1916, part II, para 81 and Appendix G) that the opponent of Jātavarman Sundara Pāndya was Viragandagōpāla. But, the Tamil record speaks only of Gandagōpāla.

The wars of Sundara Pāndya resulted in such an extension of his power that he assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādīrāja-śrīparamēśvara* and *Emmandalam-kondauliya*. They also brought him a vast treasure which he employed in beautifying the temples at Chidambaram and Srīrangam and endowing liberally these two famous shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu. At Chidambaram Sundara Pāndya is said to have performed several *tulābhāras* and erected a 'Golden Hall' for Lord Natarāja.¹ His gifts to the Srīrangam temple and his building of parts of it are recorded in a long Sanskrit inscription which Hultsch has summarized in the following words.² 'He built a shrine of Narasimha and another of Viṣṇu's attendant Viśvakṣēna both of which were covered with gold, and a gilt tower which contained an image of Narasimha. Further he covered the (original or central) shrine of the temple with gold, an achievement of which he must have been specially proud, as he assumed with reference to it the surname *Hemācchādana Rāja* i.e., "the king who covered the temple with gold", and as he placed in the shrine a golden image of Viṣṇu which he called after his own new surname. He also covered the inner wall

(வீகதிமவன கழற்கண்ட கோபாலன் விண்ணுலகிற போகதி) and it is quite possible that *Vira* in the Sanskrit expression is not an integral part of the name. At any rate Viragandagōpāla of Kāñchīpuram (the son of Vijayagandagōpāla) who came to power about A.D. 1290 could not have been Sundara Pāndya's opponent. And it seems likely that by disposing of his enemy Gandagōpāla, the Pāndya became master both of Kāñchīpuram and of Nellore and if this assumption is confirmed by further evidence, it is quite possible that Sundara Pāndya's enemy was the most famous of the Gandagōpālas, the first of the four mentioned in *A R E*, 1920, part ii, para 53. See Butlerworth and Venugopani Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, (vol. iii, pp. 1432-3) on Gandagōpāla *alias* Allun Tirukkālattidēva who was ruling in 1254-5 at Kāñchī and Nellore.

¹ Nos. 179 and 182 of 1892,

² *E I*, vol. iii, p. 11

of the central shrine with gold and built, in front of it, a dining hall, which he equipped with golden vessels. In the month of *Caitra* he celebrated the "procession festival" of the God. For the "festival of God's sporting with Laksmī" he built a golden ship. The last verse of the inscription states that the king built three golden domes over the image of Hemācchādāna-Rājā-Hari, over that of Garuda, and over the hall which contained the couch of Viṣṇu. The following miscellaneous gifts to Ranganātha are enumerated in the inscription — A garland of emeralds, a crown of jewels, a golden image of Śēsa, a golden arch, a pearl garland, a canopy of pearls, different kinds of golden fruits, a golden car, a golden trough, a golden image of Garuda, a golden under-garment, a golden aureola, a golden pedestal, ornaments of jewels, a golden armour, golden vessels and a golden throne. The first of the gifts which are here enumerated, appears to have suggested the surname *Marakataprthivīhri*, i.e., the emerald king which is applied to Sundara Pāndya in *verse 13*. And this garland of emeralds was seized from the Kāthaka (Kādava) king Kōpperunjinga (*verse 4*). Occasionally there are recorded in the inscriptions of this reign gifts to *pallis*¹ and other religious institutions outside the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and this, taken along with the king's liberal and impartial patronage of the shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu, may be accepted as some indication of peace in the religious life of the country.

The epigraphs of this reign contain more direct references to the personal qualities of the monarch than is common in mediæval Pāndya records. His love of splendour and display is seen in the *abhisekas* (coronations) he held at Nellore and Śrīrangam and in the

¹ E. g. 358 of 1908

repeated *tulābhāṣas* on various occasions at Chidambaram and Śrīrangam.¹ Almost every verse in the Ranganātha inscription is calculated to impress this trait of the king on its readers, and he is repeatedly spoken of as 'the Sun' in expressions like *Rājasūrya*, *Rāja-tapana*, *Kṣitī-pati Ravi*, etc. Some of the inscriptions from Chidambaram bestow special praise on the king's personal courage in battle and on his skill in capturing fortresses.² That he gloried in the extent of his empire may be inferred from his title *Kāñchīpura-Varādhīśvara* in his Sanskrit introduction, corresponding to *Kāñchīpuram Kondān* of some Tamil records (No 64 of 1927). Sundara Pāndya was very proud of the golden roofs he had made for the gods at Chidambaram and Śrīrangam, and set up images called *Kōyilponmūyudapūṇmāl* in different parts of the realm in commemoration of the act and instituted special festivals to the images every month on the day of *Mūla*, the asterism of the king's birth.³ After his extensive conquests he assumed the surname *Ellāṇḍalaiyānān* (became lord of all), issued coins with that legend, and instituted in temples special festivals called after this name.⁴ The name *Kōḍandaīāma* does not seem to have

¹ Dr S. K. Aiyangar's statements that the king mounted on an elephant and weighed himself against gold and jewels is based on the *Kōil oḷugu*, as also his reference to the queen Cherakulavallī. The 'elephant-feature' is not confirmed by the epigraph he quotes in the note at p. 52 of cit.

² Nos. 178 and 179 of 1892.

³ See e.g. 531 of 1920 and *A R E*, 1921, part II, para 41.

⁴ See Hultzsch in *I A*, vol. xvi p. 324, for the coins, also No. 277 of 1913 and *A R E*, 1914, part II, para 15 for the festival, also *A R E*, 1913, part II, para 44, *A R E*, 1922, part II, para 37 appears to be mistaken both in denying the title *Ellāṇḍalaiyānān* to the king and in ascribing the other title *Raṇaṅgarākṣasa* to him. The inscriptions 328 and 329 of 1921 are both Kōñerīnmaikōṇḍān records which do not seem to sustain the inferences made by the epigraphist in the paragraph referred to above. The summary of the records in Appendix B makes this clear. The Sundara Pāndya Dēvar who set up the image mentioned in No. 328 may be a later king.

been borne by this king, but by a later Sundara Pāndya.¹

Two princes are referred to in some records which certainly belong to the time of this Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya, but their relation to the king is not quite clear. One of them is Kulaśēkhara, who is called *Annālvar* in records of the ninth and tenth years of our king,² and is perhaps identical with the Kulaśēkhara for whose merit a *mandapa* was erected in Tirupputkuḷi by a minor chieftain or an official who called himself Pallavādhiśvara.³ It is possible that the reference in all these cases is to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, as the expressions *Kṣitīpa* and *Perumāl* are used in the Tirupputkuḷi epigraph. The other person mentioned in the records of Sundara Pāndya is a Vikrama Pāndya who is referred to as *Nāyanār* and in whose name a new village was founded in the thirteenth year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya.⁴ It has been suggested that a Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya was ruling about this time with an initial date of about A.D. 1249 and if that was so, he might be the *Nāyanār* referred to. But more proof is required than is yet available before this suggestion can be finally accepted.⁵

¹ *Contr.* K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkan*, p. 167. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and *A.R.E.*, 1921, part II, para 41. Mr. Aiyar refers to two facts in support of his view—(1) that the king is called a second Rāma in plundering the island of Ceylon and (2) stone epigraphs providing for the Kodandarāman Śaṇḍi. The king is called a second Rāma, *not* Kōdandarāma and the stone epigraphs referred to are Konērūmaikondān records, none of which necessarily belongs to the present ruler. It will be seen later that the name was taken by Sundara Pāndya who began to rule c. A.D. 1302-3.

² Nos. 425 and 426 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part II, para 19.

³ No. 19 of 1899.

⁴ Nos. 277 and 278 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part II, para 20. It is doubtful if No. 90 of 1897 from Mannārguḍi (Tanjore) in the twelfth year of a Jatāvarman Sundara which mentions a *Vikrama Pāndyan Mandapam* is a reference to the same Vikrama. Rangachari, p. 1295.

⁵ See *A.R.E.*, 1918, part II, para 45.

It is not possible to say exactly when the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya closed. The latest regnal year mentioned in records¹ with the Sanskrit introduction characteristic of the king seems to be the nineteenth, which will take us to A D 1269-70. He might have reigned a little longer, in any case there is clear evidence that the reign of this illustrious ruler did not close before the next great monarch Māravarman Kulaśēkhara came to power.

¹ E.g. 195 of 1906. Mr. K. A. S. Aiyar says, 'The last year of this illustrious Pāndya sovereign takes us to A D 1271' (*op cit* p. 168). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says his 'rule perhaps lasted on to his twenty third or twenty fourth regnal year'. No references are given by either. No. 451 of 1915 is in year seven *plus* twenty five of a Jatāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Hārakku Navanār Sundara Pāndya Dēva.

CHAPTER XII

JATĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀNDYA (*acc* A.D 1253)
MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA (*acc* A.D 1268)

BEFORE we give an account of the times of Māṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, another ruler who was contemporary with Jātavarman Sundara Pāndya for the greater part of his reign must be noticed. This is Jātavarman Vīra Pāndya who takes credit for some of the successes won during the time of Jātavarman Sundara, and who perhaps carried out several expeditions under the direction of that monarch. There are a considerable number of inscriptions that can definitely be ascribed to this Vīra Pāndya, and some of these indicate that he began his rule some time about the middle of A.D 1253¹ and continued to rule for at least twenty-two years till say A.D 1274-5.² It is not possible to fix the area of Vīra Pāndya's rule from the provenance of his inscriptions, though most of them come from Tinnevely, Madura and Ramnad districts and the Pudukkottah state, we have stray

¹ Kielhorn and Sewell fix the accession between June 20 and July 4, A.D 1253 (*IA*, vol xlv, p 196). Mr L. D. Swamikannu Pillai thought that Kielhorn's Vīra Pāndya was a Māṭavarman and that Jātavarman Vīra Pāndya was another king who began his rule in A.D 1254 (*IA*, vol xlii). According to Sewell the only inscription which seems to support this view is No. 395 of 1909 and in it Māṭavarman is a mistake for Jātavarman, as the achievements recorded in the epigraph are the same as those of Jātavarman (*IA*, vol xlv, p 194 and n 16). The final position of the author of the *Indian Ephemeris* on this question is far from clear. He seems to postulate three Jātavarman Vīra Pāndyas with accession dates in A.D 1253, 1254 and 1280, and says also 'but this inference is not yet established by indubitable proof' (vol 1, part II, pp 95-7). Elsewhere he refers 395 of 1909 to a Māṭavarman Vīra Pāndya of a later century (Pudukkottah inscription No 454).

² No. 128 of 1908 gives the twenty-second year, A.D 1275, (Sewell).

records from other places like Kāñchīpuram (No. 483 of 1919) and Coimbatore ¹ We have in fact no means of knowing what exactly was the position of Vīra Pāndya and rulers like him, 'co-regents' as they have been called, and how the administration of the empire was regulated

The records of Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya begin in one of three ways. The simplest form (e.g. 185 of 1895) gives the Jatāvarman and Tribhuvanacakravartin titles and refers to the conquests of Īlam, Kongu and the Chola kingdom, and the victory over Vallān and the *avhisēka* at Chidambaram before mentioning the king's name and regnal year. A slightly more elaborate form refers in like manner to the conquest of Kongu and Īlam, to the destruction of a hill (*lōdu*) of the fierce Vadugas, the capture of the two banks of the Ganges (?) and the Kāvēri, and the camping of the king in Chidambaram to collect the tribute from the Kādava and perform the *avhisēka* ² The most ostentatious of these introductions begins with the words *Tirumaḡal Valai* (திருமகளவளா) and, while attributing incredible feats to Vīra Pāndya, seems to record some interesting particulars of the actual expeditions undertaken by the king against the Chola country and Ceylon. We learn from this introduction ³

¹ No. 35 of 1923 and *A R E*, 1923, part ii, para 68. Nos. 299 and 302 of 1919 from North Arcot.

² This form appears in Pudukkottah Nos. 370 and 379 of which 379 = No. 131 of 1907 (Madras). The words in the text must be quoted as there is some uncertainty as to the interpretation—'கொங்குமேழை கொண்டு கொடுவடுகு கொட்டித் தன கைகை யிருகரையும் காவிரியும் கைகொண்டு'. The difficulty lies in the phrase கைகையிருகரையும். *A R E*, 1912, part ii, para 39 makes this a conquest of Gangai nādu and at *A R E*, 1915, part ii, para 36 the phrase seems to be ignored altogether.

³ The summary is in *A R E*, 1912, part ii, para 39. Text in Pudukkottah, No. 366. The words at the end of the summary in *A R E*, 1912 'and subdued the Kērala' do not seem to be borne out by the Pudukkottah text.

that Vīra Pāndya 'fought with the Chola king a battle at Kāvikkalam, killed (in fight) one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols, chauris and other royal possessions, planted the Pāndya flag with the double fish on the Kōnamalai and the high peaks of the Trikūtagiri mountain, and received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon (whom, perhaps, he raised to the throne)' Lastly the introduction refers to the king's settlement of his relations with a Śāvan-maīdan (சாவனமைந்தன்) who was at first recalcitrant but submitted afterwards. It is possible that these facts are implied also in the attribute given to Vīra Pāndya in an inscription in his tenth year which says 'he took the crown and the crowned head of Śāvaka' But the meaning of these references is by no means clear yet ¹ However, most of these campaigns must be the same as those mentioned in the records of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya, and if the statements in these introductions of Vīra Pāndya are true, there can be no doubt that Vīra played a decisive part in some of the most important achievements in Sundara Pāndya's reign. The conquest of Ceylon narrated in such detail is not mentioned in any records dated earlier than the tenth year of Vīra Pāndya. It should, however, be remembered

¹ There is only one text of this important record (Pudukkottah, No 366) and in it the reference is in the following words (ll 11-12)—'ப[ன்]டெவலசெய்யா திகலசெய திருநதசாவன மைந்தன் நலமிருந திறைஞ்ச வீரககழலவி ரலரைச (கு)டமுத திருக்கொனம அலைவாப படனகழித்த வழங்கி அருளி முடிக்குகனி நெறி பார முழுதறிய ணாவ(ல)ஞ (செ)யலித்த தநதை மர பன் நினைப்பிட்ட ரெசிமமிநத ஆனூர புரிச்சவி ரெயச்செலகென(வி)டை கொடுத்தருளி' No 588 of 1916 from Karikāṇḍamangalam (Tinnevely) does not mention the conquest of Kongu but refers to the taking of the crown and the crowned head of Śāvaka 'Probably the land of Śāvaka might have been intended'—*A R E*, 1917, part ii, para 11.

that Sundara Pāndya is said to have collected a tribute of jewels and elephants from the Ceylonese before the seventh year of his reign, that is, before A D 1258. The Ceylonese chronicles have nothing to tell of these transactions and it is not possible to determine how there came to be two kings in Ceylon and why one of them was selected by Vīra Pāndya for more favourable treatment than the other. As for the places mentioned in connection with this expedition, it has been suggested that Kōnamalai is very probably the same as Tīrukkōnamalai in the *Tevānam* and that Trīkūtagiri is the name applied to a three-peaked mountain in the Kandiyan country.¹ Kāvikkalam, the scene of the fight with the Chola, in which elephants appear to have played a decisive part (*vīlappōi*), is not easy to identify. The only known Chola ruler of the time, Rājendra III, boasts of having taken the crowned heads of two Pāndyas (No 515 of 1922).

Vīra Pāndya's conquest of Kongu is proved by the presence of a few of his records in the Coimbatore district.² Who the Vallān was that was overcome by Vīra Pāndya before his coronation at Chidambaram, who the Vadugas were whose stronghold he destroyed, and where that stronghold was, are matters which, like many others relating to the history of the Pāndya kings of this period, must be left unexplained in the present state of

¹ *A R E*, 1912, part ii, para 39

² *A R E*, 1923, part ii, para 68 and No 35 of 1923 from Idigaraī. It is an interesting fact that this damaged record contains the well-known Sanskrit introduction *Samasta-bhuvanaikavīra* usually attributed to Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya who is taken to have begun to rule some years later. It seems possible that the introduction originally belonged to Vīra Pāndya and was subsequently appropriated by Vikrama Pāndya (*A R E*, 1914, part ii, para 20).

our knowledge.¹ The tributary and subordinate position in the Pāndya Empire of the rebellious Kādava chieftain, Kōpperunjingadēva, has been mentioned before.

The records of Vīra Pāndya are of more than usual interest for a study of the social and economic conditions of the country during this period. Though the more detailed study of such conditions has been reserved to a later chapter some of these records may be briefly noticed here. One inscription from the Pudukkottāh state (No. 372 of 1906) throws much light on judicial methods and describes an ordeal of the plough-share, another from Kurrālam (Tinnevely) registers a transaction between an individual and the assembly of Tirukkuttālam which is stated to have met together in Tirumukkālvattam, by which is probably meant a hall where it usually held its sittings. 'No. 432 of 1917 records that the village assembly bought a piece of land from the people of Sundara Pāndyapuram and let a portion of it on permanent lease to a certain Ānda Pillai in exchange for a fixed annual rent in paddy and money on every *mā* (மா) of cultivated land.' It was also stipulated that the lessee would pay on every *mā* of waste plot that he brought under cultivation an annually progressive rate of rent for the first four years and a fixed rate thereafter.² Two epigraphs from the North Arcot district (Āvūr, Nos. 299 and 302 of 1919) contain details of *kadamai* assessment in that part of the

¹ Vallān has sometimes been taken to be the king of the Chola country (*A R E*, 1907, part ii, para 27) But the conquest of Vallān is always mentioned as a separate event which occurred after the capture of Chola-mandalam thus, 'ஈழமுந்நகரங்கும சோழமண்டலமுந்நகரங்குமி வல்லாண்டெனறு திலகமாதகரியுள்,' etc. The Vadugas are taken to be Kanarese (*A R E*, 1915, part ii, para 36) They might as well have been Telugus to whom the name is more commonly applied by the Tamils,

² *A R E*, 1918, part ii, para 48,

title 'who took all countries' had begun to rule, as his numerous records point to some day between the tenth and twenty-seventh June, A.D. 1268 as the date from which his regnal years were counted.¹ It is thus seen that there were at least three kings, Sundara Pāndya, Vīra Pāndya and Kulaśēkhara, at this time. It will become clear from what follows that this feature marked the whole of Kulaśēkhara's reign and perhaps also the period that followed. A Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya, two Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāndyas and a Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāndya are known to have ruled with Māravarman Kulaśēkhara at different times, and there were possibly others like Māravarman Srīvallabha (*acc* A.D. 1257) and Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha (*acc.* A.D. 1291) whose existence, though probable, has not been proved beyond doubt.² The evidence of foreign writers relating to this period confirms the inferences made from the inscriptions. Marco Polo, who visited part of the Pāndya kingdom towards the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of 'five royal brothers' and 'five crowned kings' of this 'great province of Ma'bar'. Chinese sources regarding the diplomatic intercourse with Ma'bar in 1280 and the following years mention 'the five brothers who were

¹ *IA*, vol. xlv and *E I*, vol. x, p. 141. Kielhorn's view that this Kulaśēkhara was the immediate successor of Vīra Pāndya, the conqueror of Ilam and Kongu, has now to be given up in view of records subsequently discovered.

² Mr L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai first discovered the possibility of their existence and Mr Sewell after a careful examination of his data wanted further evidence before the existence of these kings could be taken as proved (*IA*, vols. xlii and xlv). Mr Swamikkannu Pillai also postulated a Sundara Pāndya (Jaṭavarman) with accession date in A.D. 1270 (*IA*, vol. xlii), but subsequently gave him up (*List of Pudukkottah Inscriptions*, p. 66 n). The *Indian Ephemeris*, however, introduces a Māravarman Sundara Pāndya *acc.* A.D. 1270 (vol. 1, part II, p. 101). These instances show how difficult the chronology of these kings still continues to be.

Sultans'.¹ The Muhammadan historian Wassaf who had chances of gaining a more accurate knowledge of South India in his day says, 'A few years since the Dewar was Sundara Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. Considering the royal state maintained by these kings who were all contemporaries, it is not surprising that they struck foreign observers as ruling independently of one another, for not only did they cause inscriptions to be engraved and endowments to be made even in his own name but they seem to have even exercised the right of coinage. At the same time there is no doubt about the superior position of Kulassekhara as the sovereign monarch, and this seems to have been understood by Marco Polo and Wassaf. Marco Polo says that Asnar 'was the eldest of the five brother kings', Asnar (Ascur in another version) is no doubt a corruption of Śekhara.² And Wassaf though he states in one place 'a few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi' and records his death, says elsewhere 'Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years'.³ The system of joint rulers or co-regents which thus prevailed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the

¹ Yule and Cordier, *Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 331, 337, 371. Marco Polo has a strange travellers' story about the mother of these kings being alive at the time of his visit, and her throwing her ell between them to prevent their fighting. In this way she, full many a time, brought them to death. But when he died it will most certainly happen that they will fall out and destroy one another' (p. 371).

² Elliot and Dawson, vol. iii, p. 52.

³ Yule and Cordier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 370 and Dr S. K. Aliyengar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Rulers*, p. 56.

⁴ Elliot and Dawson, vol. iii, p. 52. It may be mentioned that the *Mahāramā* (see later in the chapter) also knows of 'five brethren' of whom Kulassekhara was chief.

Pāndya empire must have been the result of the great extension of the empire during this period and an imitation of the practice of sending out princes of the royal family as viceroys which had prevailed in the Chola empire

The inscriptions of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara 'who conquered all countries' are very numerous and found mostly in the eastern Tamil districts and the regnal years mentioned in them range from 3 to 44. A few of these records begin with a historical introduction '*Tēr Pōl* etc.' which is not of much value as most of it is poetry. The only definite statements made in it are that the tiger of the Cholas had been sent to rule the forests, that all religions flourished in friendly toleration of one another and that the rulers of various countries brought their tributes to the king¹. We also learn that the king had a palace at Jayangondaśōlapuram and that the king's throne in the palace was called Kalingarāyan. This is clear proof that the Cholas had ceased to exist as a

¹ Nos 25 of 1891 and 465 of 1909 of the years ten and four respectively. Mr Krishna Sastri (at *A R E*, 1910, part II, para 36) holds that 'it is certain that he (Kulaśēkhara of No 465 of 1909) could not be identical with Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, "who was pleased to take every country"'. His reasons are (a) Kulaśēkhara 'who conquered every country' is not known to have had any eulogy in the form of a historical introduction, (b) the mention of the chief officer Kalingarāyan in the record makes it probable that this Māravarman Kulaśēkhara was a contemporary or successor of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, and (c) the historical introduction was characteristic of the records of the first kings of the mediæval Pāndyas. Reasons (a) and (c) simply beg the question. As for (b), Mr Krishna Sastri himself ascribes another record No 366 of 1913 to Kulaśēkhara 'who took all countries' for the very reason that it mentions Kalingarāyan (*A R E*, 1914, part II, para 22). That No 465 of 1909 does not give the title 'who took all countries' is no argument against its being ascribed to the king, for when there is a characteristic introduction to a record, the king's surnames may or may not appear. See Jaṭavarman Sundara's records beginning *Pūmalar Valar*. Dr S. K. Aiyangar ascribes No 465 of 1909 to our king—*op cit*, pp 56 and 221.

power. The last of them who made any attempt to save the Chola line from annihilation was Rājendra III and he had probably ceased to rule when Māravarman Kulaśēkhara came to the throne¹. An epigraph from Śērmādēvi (No. 602 of 1916) dated in the twentieth year of the king furnishes some commentary on his title and mentions that he conquered the Malainādu, Śōnādu, the two Kongus, Īlam and Tondaimandalam. These are probably references to campaigns rendered necessary on account of some local trouble or other, for most of the territories mentioned had been brought under subjection by Jātivarman Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya.

Rather early in his reign the king went on an expedition against the Travancore country (Malainādu) and one of the chief incidents in the campaign was probably the capture of Kollam (Quilon). Some records of the king from the Tinnevely district confirm the conquest, rather the reconquest, of Malainādu, and give the titles *Cherara-veera* and *Kollam-konda*². That Kulaśēkhara continued to be in undisputed possession of the Śōnādu and Tondaimandalam is proved by the presence of many of his inscriptions in all the important places in these districts. In spite of Kulaśēkhara's claim to have conquered the two Kongus, no records of his are found in the Kongu country. On the other hand, a record from Tinnevely (No. 29 of 1927) mentions³ that Kulaśēkhara built a *prākāra* wall of the Tinnevely temple

¹ See *ARI*, 1912, part ii, para 32 and 1923 part ii, para 45. Also Dr S. K. Alvaranar, *op cit*, pp. 56 and 94-5.

² *Cherara-veera* occurs as early as the eighth year in No. 126 of 1907. For the rest see *ARI*, 1927, part ii, para 42, where the reference to No. 120 of 1908 is perhaps a mistake.

³ This record is assigned to Jātivarman Kulaśēkhara *ante* A.D. 1190 in *ARE*, 1927, part ii, para 41, but that period is too early for a Pāndya king who claims to have beaten the Hoysalas.

from the booty collected after defeating the Kērala, the Chola and the Hoysala kings. Another inscription mentions that the king was in his camp at Kannanūr in his fifteenth year.¹ We also find records of Kulaśēkhara's co-regent Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (acc. A.D. 1276) in the Kongu country, and later still, early in the fourteenth century, the Muhammadan historians tell us of a Pāndya ruler with his headquarters at Kalūl (Karūr).² All these facts leave little room for doubt that the Kongu country was more or less effectively controlled by the Pāndya rulers till the end of Kulaśēkhara's reign.

The conquest of Ceylon is borne out by the *Mahāvamsa* and appears to have taken place about A.D. 1284, when Parākrama Bāhu III was ruling the island.³ 'Then there arose a famine in the land (Ceylon). Then the five brethren who governed the Pāndyan kingdom sent to this island, at the head of an army, a great minister of much power who was a chief among the Tamils known as Ariya Cakkavatti, albeit he was not an Ariya. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side he entered the great and noble fortress, the city of Subhagiri. And he took the venerable tooth-relic and all the solid wealth that was there and returned to the

¹ No. 328 of 1923 summarized in *A R E*, 1924, part II, para 35. There were however several places of the name Kannanūr. There is a reference to Kannaṭṭarasar in No. 20 of 1912 (from the Tinnevely district) of the fourth year. This led Mr. Krishna Sastri (*A R E*, 1912, part II, para 35) to believe that the Hoysalas under Vīra Rāmanātha were still occupying the Tamil country and interfering with the Pāndyas. In the absence of the text of the inscription it is not possible to check the validity of Mr. Sastri's inference, but it is against the general trend of affairs after the accession of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (A.D. 1251).

² Wassaf in *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. III, p. 54.

³ *J R A S*, 1913, p. 531. It is likely that the actual Pāndyan invasion of Ceylon was in the reign of his predecessor (*Mahāvamsa*, xc, vv. 48-50).

Pāndyan country. And there he gave the tooth relic unto the king Kulaśēkhara who was even like unto a sun expanding the lotus-like race of the great Pāndyan kings' ¹ The commander of the Pāndyan forces mentioned in this account, Ariya Cakravarti, is referred to also in an inscription (No. 110 of 1903) of the king in his thirty-seventh year as taking his orders from him ² . Parākrama Bāhu had to bow before the storm and the *Mahāvamsa* says that he adopted persuasive methods with the Pāndya monarch, visited the Pāndyan court and succeeded in inducing Kulaśēkhara to surrender the sacred tooth as a favour

Wassaf says of Kulaśēkhara's reign that 'during that time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady confined him to bed'. 'The fortunate and happy sovereign' according to the same writer, 'enjoyed a highly prosperous life' We have evidence from the inscriptions, however, of a short period of illness from which the king suffered and which appears to have had rather important consequences in the public administration of the country In an epigraph from the Tanjore district (No. 46 of 1906)³ dated in the thirty-fourth year of the king, 'the country is said to have been in a state of confusion at the time and the people were in distress This state of things seems to have been

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, xc, Turnour and Wijesinha, part ii, pp 314-5

² Dr S K Aiyangar appears to be right in pointing out as against Mr K V S Aiyar (see Aiyangar *op cit*, pp 57-8 and Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp 170-1) that the Āriya Cakravarti was not a Muhammadan but a Tamil

³ See *A R E*, 1907, part ii, para 27 This record comes from Tirukkadaiyūr and Mr T A Gopinatha Rao was clearly wrong in ascribing it to the Kulaśēkhara of the civil war of the twelfth century (*Trav Arch Series*, vol ii, p 16) The details of date in the record work out correctly for September 10, A.D 1301 in the thirty-fourth year of our king (*IA*, vol. xliv, p 198)

brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominions to his younger brothers Kulaśēkhara apparently resumed the ceded territories subsequently. As a result of this step, the people, who had migrated to other provinces in the interval, returned to their native country'. Another inscription¹ dated about three years earlier in the thirty-first year which records a gift of land for the recovery of the king from some illness probably explains the circumstances which led to the events mentioned in the later inscription

Kulaśēkhara appears to have had the surname *Bhuvanēkavīra* which is found in at least one of his records, if not more.² There are references, in the records of Kulaśēkhara and his contemporary Vīra Pāndya, to a number of chieftains with names ending in Vānādirāyan or Mābēli Vānādirāyan. These are among the earliest references in Pāndya records to a race of feudatories who seem at first to have started as hereditary local officials in charge of the administration of portions of the kingdom. In later times, the Vānādirāyans in the Madura country took advantage of the growing weakness of the Pāndyan kings to declare their independence and restrict the actual rule of the later Pāndyas to the Tinnevely district. It would appear that these local officials so long as they retained a subordinate character indicated their subjection by employing the names of princes of the ruling family as their *aliases*. The Śāmbuvarāyans who were Chola feudatories are known to have done so,³ and the names of the Mābēli Vānādirāyans mentioned in the Pāndya records under reference are best explained on

¹ No 506 of 1904 which yields a regular date in A D 1299 for the thirty first year (*IA*, vol xlv, p 198)

² Nos 260 of 1917 and 218 of 1924. Also *ARE*, 1924, part ii, para 35.

³ *ARE*, 1919, part ii, para 21 gives several examples of this.

that supposition. On the other hand, the kings to whom those officials were subject used terms evincing a paternal interest in them like *Pillai*, *Makkal* and so on. The records of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya make reference to a Pārākrama Pāndya Mābēli Vānādhirāya *alias* Pāvananga kāra called Makkalnāyanār, and a Vikrama Pāndya Mahābali Vānarāya Nāyanār may also be taken to be of the same period. An inscription of Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya mentions a Pillai Kulaśēkhara Mābēli Vānarāyan who may be the same as Pillai Mābelivānarāyar who was in charge of Kōnādu (part of the Pudukkottah state) under Māravarman Kulaśēkhara. We also learn that Kēralaśinga Valanādu (part of the modern district of Ramnad) was under an officer Vānādarāyar from the time of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya to at least the twenty-fourth year of Kulaśēkhara. The part played by these Bānarāya chiefs in the history of the Pāndyan kingdom from this time is easy enough to understand in its general outline, but there are several obscure details that await further study and elucidation.¹

¹ *A R E*, 1916, part ii, para 25. 1922, part ii, para 36. 1918, part ii, para 51, 1905, part ii, para 45 and 1924, part ii, para 35 contain various attempts at explaining these records. The most important among them are No 104 of 1916, No 46 of 1922, No 430 of 1907, No 357 of 1922, No 328 of 1923 and others.

CHAPTER XIII

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA (1276), MĀRA- VARMAN VIKRAMA PĀNDYA (1283), SOCIAL LIFE AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY— MARCO POLO

OF the co-regents who came to power after Kulaśēkhara's accession, Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya claims notice first. His rule began in A D. 1276.¹ This king had apparently no distinguishing titles and the identification of his records is a matter of considerable difficulty. There is little to guide the student besides astronomical details given in the inscriptions and the latest regnal year so far traced by such indications is the seventeenth, which takes his rule up to A D 1292-1293 (No. 594 of 1907). He is the *Sonder Bandi Davar* of Marco Polo and the *Sunder Pandi* of Wassaf who was the Dewar 'a few years since' and whose death is mentioned by him as having occurred in 692 Hīra. His records are found in the Cuddapah and Salem districts, besides Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput. An inscription of his, recently discovered in the Tanjore district (No. 311 of 1927), refers to the foundation of a new Śaiva Matha by a Vidyāśiva Pandita, which is no doubt connected with

¹ Mr L D Swamikkannu Pillai first postulated another Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya with accession in A D 1269-70 (*IA*, vol xlii), Sewel decisively rejected the possibility (*IA*, vol xlii) and Mr Swamikkannu himself subsequently gave it up. See note under Jatāvarman Sundara I at p 66 of the *List of Pudukkottah Inscriptions and Ephemeris*, (vol 1 part ii, p 101). For the accession date in A D 1276, see *E I*, vol ix, pp 228-9 and *E I*, vol xi, pp 136 and 259-61, also *E I*, vol x, pp 143-4.

the revival of Saiva activities in the thirteenth century by the Saiva teachers (Santānaguravar) beginning with Meykandadēvar who popularized and spread the tenets of the Saiva Siddhānta philosophy ¹

Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya was another co-regent, who began to rule some time in A D 1283 ² His records begin with a Sanskrit introduction *Samasta bhuvana* and two Tamil introductions commencing *Tirunagal* and *Tirunalarmādu* The Sanskrit introduction, which is found also in one of Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya's records, recounts practically all the titles and achievements of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya and furnishes the model for the introductions adopted by some of the later Pandyas of the period of decline ³ And the Tamil introductions do not seem to add materially to our knowledge of the king It seems therefore that Vikrama Pāndya's Sanskrit introduction cannot be taken to refer to any fresh conquests on his part Some inscriptions from Chidambaram are in the form of verses which seem to be in praise of this Vikrama Pāndya and to record his achievements in particular In one of them

¹ *A R E*, 1927, part ii, para 44

² There has been great difficulty regarding the date of this king's accession At one time (*I A*, vol xlv) Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai were agreed about A D 1283 Subsequently (see *A R E*, 1917, Appendix F) Mr Swamikkannu Pillai gave up A D 1283 for A D 1269-70, for what appears to be an insufficient reason His *Indian Ephemeris* (vol 1, part ii, pp 92-3) unfortunately adds to the confusion by mixing up many things and stating different dates of accession at the beginning and at the end It will be seen, however, that on the basis of any date there are difficulties in reconciling all the known facts The accession date 1283 seems to be well established and need not be given up See No 82 of 1918 and *A R E*, 1915, part ii, para 45 Again No 43 of 1905 of the seventh year of the king from South Arcot states that the salt pans belonging to a temple remained unused since the time of the Pallava king Kōpperunjinga If it is remembered that that chieftain ruled almost up to A D 1280, the inference is clear

³ See Nos 122 of 1896 and 200 of 1895

Before proceeding to consider the other co-regents of Kulaśekhara and the politics of the closing years of his reign, an account must be given of the social and economic life of the Pāṇḍya country as it struck a foreign observer like Marco Polo, whose statements are in several important respects borne out by the observations of the Muḥammadan historian Wassaf to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the political condition of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom at this time ¹

The name by which the country was known to foreigners was Ma'bar, a word which, in Arabic, signifies Passage or Ferry and was applied to the part of the Indian coast most frequented by travellers and merchants from Arabia and the Persian Gulf 'Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore) The curiosities of Chin and Machin and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving there The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind' (*Wassaf*) Writing of Kāyal (Cail), the chief emporium of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, Marco Polo says that the king to whom the city belongs 'administers his kingdom with great equity and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city' 'It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the West, as from Hormos and from Kis and

¹ The account that follows is based on Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo* and *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii.

should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury '1

The waste of the country's wealth on horses that Marco Polo speaks of was due not so much to the generous terms of the contract under which horses were imported as to the unfavourable climate of South India in which these horses could not thrive and the ignorance of Indian horse-keepers. Wassaf remarks 'It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink . They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs in order that they may get fat, and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons . In a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing . There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually ' Marco Polo confirms Wassaf and says, ' There is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often proved by trial ' and the ' people do not know in the least how to treat a horse ' But he also adds this ' The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains '

¹ Wassaf also gives the total volume of the annual Indian import trade in horses as 10,000 animals worth 2,200,000 dinars and rather inconsistently adds that this amount ' was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples, and from the tax upon courtesans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury '

From the earliest times the Pāndya country has been famous for its pearls and 'Marco's account of the pearl fishery is still substantially correct' He says 'In his (Sonder Bandi Davar's) kingdom they find very fine and great pearls, and I will tell you how they are got . . . The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf (between the island of Seilan and the mainland), where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called Bettelar, and (then) go sixty miles into the gulf Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May Of all the produce they have first to pay the King, as his royalty, the tenth part And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one-twentieth part of all that they take These fish-charmers are termed *Abraaman* (Brahman), and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can

thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world And I can tell you the King of that State hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls.' 'Moreover nobody is permitted to take out of the kingdom a pearl weighing more than half a *saggio* unless he manages to do it secretly This order has been given because the King desires to reserve all such to himself, and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible Moreover several times every year he sends his proclamation through the realm that if any one who possesses a pearl or stone of great value will bring it to him, he will pay for it twice as much as it cost Everybody is glad to do this, and thus the King gets all into his own hands, giving every man his price'

The king possessed much other treasure of great value besides the best of the pearls that were found in his kingdom 'Round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like in so much that this collar is of great value He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 (108?) large pearls and rubies of great price The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies, is (according to what they tell) that every day, morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols Such is their religion and their custom And thus did all the Kings, his ancestors before him, and they bequeathed the string of pearls to him that he should do the like.'

'The King aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you what this

King wears, between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And it is no wonder, for he hath great store of such gear'

'When the King dies none of his children dares to touch his treasure. For they say, "As our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn" And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom.' That Marco was correctly informed as to the extent of the treasures accumulated by the Pāndya rulers is seen clearly from the statements of Wassaf on the matter. Of Kales Dewar (Kulaśēkhara) he says 'His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1,200 crores of gold (*dirhams*) deposited. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds—more than is in the power of language to express'

Marco Polo gives some more information of interest about the king and his court 'This King hath some five hundred wives. . . The King hath many children' 'And there are about the King a number of Barons in attendance upon him These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom, they are called the King's Trusty Lieges And you must know that when the King dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company in the other world' These statements of Marco about the King's Trusty Lieges may, at first sight, appear incredible, but they furnish an excellent commentary on the epigraphical references to

Tennavan Āpattudavṅal (தென்னவன ஆபத்துதவங்கள்) and an institution mentioned in the records of successive Pāndya rulers of this period¹ becomes intelligible only in the light of the evidence furnished by the Venetian traveller.

Marco Polo has some things to say about the life of the common people of the country. Their manner of dress seems to have amazed him 'You must know that in all this province of Ma'bar there is never a tailor to cut a coat or stitch it, seeing that everybody goes naked' For decency only do they wear a scrap of cloth, and so it is with men and women, with rich and poor, aye, and with the King himself . . . It is a fact that the King goes as bare as the rest.' The last statement shows that surprise at the novelty of the foreigners' dress blunted the keenness of the traveller's observation. Marco Polo mentions the custom of *sati* as common at the time and refers also to the practice of allowing a condemned criminal who was sentenced to death to sacrifice himself to some God or other of his choice. Many people, according to him, worshipped the ox and 'would not eat beef for anything in the world'

'And let me tell you, the people of this country have a custom of rubbing their houses all over with cow-dung. Moreover all of them, great and small, King and Barons included, do sit upon the ground only, and the reason they give is that this is the most honourable way to sit, because we all spring from the Earth and to the Earth we must return, so no one can pay the Earth too much honour, and no one ought to despise it' People continue to sit on the ground even now, though, one supposes, not for the reason given by Marco

¹ See *A R E*, 1918 part ii, para 43,

' The people of the country go to battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield, and they are most wretched soldiers. They will kill neither beast nor bird, nor anything that hath life, and for such animal food as they eat, they make the Saracens, or others who are not of their own religion, play the butcher.

' It is their practice that every one, male and female, do wash the whole body twice every day, and those who do not wash are looked on much as we look on the Patarins. You must know that in eating they use the right hand only and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and every man hath his own, nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth, nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger have no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup.

' They are very strict in executing justice upon criminals, and as strict in abstaining from wine. Indeed they have made a rule that wine-drinkers and sea-faring men are never to be accepted as sureties. They have the following rule about debts. If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor for payment and shall have put him off from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must not pass out of this circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he in any other case presumes to pass the circle he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice.

‘ They have many experts in an art which they call Physiognomy, by which they discern a man’s character and qualities at once . They also know the import of meeting with any particular bird or beast , for such omens are regarded by them more than by any people in the world . As soon as a child is born they write down his nativity, that is to say the day and hour, the month, and the moon’s age . This custom they observe because every single thing they do is done with reference to astrology, and by the advice of diviners skilled in Sorcery and Magic and Geomancy and such like diabolical arts , and some of them are also acquainted with Astrology ’

Marco Polo says that all male children were dismissed from their homes when they attained thirteen and after that they had to get their living by trade . ‘ And these urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling . And every day they take their food to their mothers to be cooked and served, but do not eat a scrap at the expense of their fathers ’ This could not have been universal, perhaps Marco found the system prevailing among some sections of the population . He refers to temples as ‘ certain abbeys in which are Gods and Goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated ’—a reference to *dīvadāsīs* . The nature of the institution of the temple dancing-girls seems, however, to have been hardly understood by the traveller

‘ All the people of this city (Cail), as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tembul*, to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites . The Lords and gentlefolks and the King have these leaves prepared

with camphor and other aromatic spices and also mixt with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health.'

'The men of this country have their beds made of very light canework, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn up by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas which give terrible bites, as well as of fleas and such vermin, and at the same time to get as much air as possible in the great heat which prevails in that region. Not that everybody does this, but only the nobles and great folks, for the others sleep on the streets.'

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST YEARS OF MĀRĪVARMAṆ KULAŚĒKHARA
(1268) JATĀVARMAṆ VĪRA PĀNDYA (*c.c.* A.D. 1296-7),
JATĀVARMAṆ SUNDARĀ PĀNDYA (*c.c.* A.D. 1303),
• THE MUHAMMADAN INVASION

sies and rivalries of these half-brothers embittered the last years of Kulaśēkhara, and finally led to his murder by Sundara Pāndya. This crime was followed by a fraternal war which threw the kingdom into confusion when the Khilji army under Malik Kafur advanced upon Madura. But the story is not easy to follow in its details. It is unfortunate that Wassaf's account stands alone and is not corroborated by the other writers of the time, particularly because the inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara's reign seem to contradict Wassaf's chronology.

The story as given by Wassaf is this: 'As Tira Pandi was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandi, being enraged at this supersession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H (A.D. 1310) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi (Madura). He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Manikul, and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp with the elephants, horses, and treasures. Upon this his brother Tira Pandi, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Talachi, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away, but Tira Pandi being unfortunate, and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephant-loads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandi.

'It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for Manar Barmul, the son of the daughter

of Kales Dewar, who espoused the cause of Tira Pandi, being at that time at Karamhatti, near Kalul, sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandi had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own, but, . . . notwithstanding all his treasures and the goodwill of the army, he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (A D 1310) Tira Pandi, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandi, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of Ala-ud-din of Delhi, and Tira Pandi became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.

Now, the two princes Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya had been associated in the government of the state since A D 1296 and 1303 respectively, and if Sundara Pandya's superior claims were overlooked, the supersession took place several years before Sundara's rage led him to kill his father. It is hard to see why Sundara Pandya, who apparently did not mind the preference shown to Vira in the beginning, should, at the end of more than thirteen years, have become so undutiful as to turn parricide. It is, however, possible that some time before the murder, Kulaśēkhara had in some manner indicated that after him, Vira Pandya was to be the chief monarch, Sundara Pandya being subordinate in rank, and that Sundara was disappointed at this decision of his father which placed the bastard above the legitimate son after the father's lifetime.¹ But the time of the murder as given by Wassaf presents a serious diffi-

¹ The suggestion is made by Dr S K Aiyangar, *S India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p 96

culty. The event is placed by him at the close of 709 H., that is about May-June, A.D. 1310, and before Malik Kafur's attack on Dwārasamudra. But there are inscriptions which refer to the forty-fourth year of Kulaśēkhara's reign which did not begin till June 10, A.D. 1311 and one of these (No 106 of 1916) comes from Tīrukkālakkudi in the modern Ramnad district and gives the king's usual title 'who was pleased to take all countries'. It is very unlikely that records continued to be dated in the regnal years of a monarch who had died at his son's hands till more than a year after the event, and that so near the capital of the kingdom. There seems to be no possibility of reconciling Wassaf's date with the epigraphical evidence at hand.¹ It may also be observed that neither Amīr Khusru nor Zia-ud-dīn Baranī—both refer to the two rulers of the Pāndya country in their accounts of Malik Kafur's invasion of Ma'bar—has anything to say about the murder.

There is no doubt, however, that Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya had fallen out and were fighting each other at the time of the Muhammadan invasion of South India. In this respect, Wassaf's statements receive confirmation from Amīr Khusru who says that Malik Kafur 'was informed that the two Rais of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bīr Pāndya, the youngest Sundar Pāndya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions.'² It is difficult to follow the details of this war between the two Pāndya rulers given by Wassaf as the

¹ Dr S K Aiyangar seems to be aware of the difficulty though he does not appear to face it. It is rather difficult to see how the various statements he makes in his work are to be reconciled with one another. See *op cit*, pp 55, 59, 96, and 97.

² *Elliot and Dowson*, vol iii, p 88.

names of places have changed beyond recognition at the hands of the Muhammadan historian

Sundara Pāndya is said to have suffered defeat in the end and taken refuge with Ala-ud-din. This has led practically all historians to suppose that Sundara Pāndya's appeal against Vīra furnished the occasion for Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya country. Col Yule stated 'Sundar Bandi went to Ala-ud-din, Sultan of Delhi, and sought help. The Sultan eventually sent his general Hazardinari (*alias* Malik Kafur) to conquer Ma'bar'¹ and he has been generally followed by all writers who came after him and it has been sometimes assumed that Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya kingdom was undertaken partly in furtherance of Sundara Pāndya's claims to the throne². There seems to be little reason furnished by our sources for the view that the Muhammadan was interested in helping Sundara Pāndya back to his throne or that his invasion was caused

¹ Marco Polo—*Yule and Cordier*, vol II, p 333 n. Dr S. K. Aiyangar says 'According to Wassaf's account, therefore, Sundara Pāndya found refuge in the court of Alauddin, and that gave the occasion for interference, if such an occasion were necessary for Malik Kafur, who was already on this invasion' (*op cit*, p 97). Again 'There is very little doubt left that he marched in support of Vīra Pāndya's rival Sundara Pāndya whose territory proper was Madura and the country round it' (pp 156-7). *The Cambridge History of India*, vol III, is indecisive 'From Dvāravatipura Malik Naib marched to the kingdom of the Pāndyas in the extreme south of the peninsula to which the attention of Alauddin had been attracted by recent events' (p 116). Malik Kafur then occupied with the Hoysalas, invaded the Tamil kingdom, placed Sundara Pāndya on the throne,' etc (p 487). At p 669, the capture of Madura and the submission of Madura are entered under 1310 and the death of Māravarman Kulasēkhara under A.D. 1311. Ishwari Prasād, *Medieval India*, pp 203-4, is also inaccurate in details.

² Dr S. K. Aiyangar says of the invasion of Rajah 710 A.H. 'This was apparently an invasion distinct from the one by Malik Kafur himself' (p 95). But Wassaf mentions Malik Nabu (= Malik Kafur, see *Elliot and Dowson*, vol III, p 48, n 1) as having been 'obliged to retreat' and if the view of Dr Aiyangar is right, it must be held that Wassaf makes no mention of the actual invasion of the Pāndya country by Malik Kafur at all.

by the quarrels between the brothers. Wassaf, the only writer who gives a full account of the disputed succession in the Pāndya country, does not connect Malik Kafur's invasion with the flight of Sundara Pāndya to Ala-ud-din's court. In fact his account of the invasion of Ma'bar precedes his narrative of the fraternal war in the Pāndya kingdom and his scheme of chronology is likewise against the usual view. He places the invasion of Ma'bar in the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (December, A.D. 1310) and the flight of Sundara to Ala-ud-din was after the middle of the year 710, that is about the same time. It is possible to suggest that Sundara fled not to Ala-ud-din himself but to his general in the south, Malik Kafur, and sought his aid¹. This does seem a satisfactory solution of the chronological difficulty. But if Wassaf's account is to be followed faithfully, it must be held that Sundara Pāndya did not gain much by his appeal to Malik Kafur. For he leaves no room for doubt that Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya country had no other results than the plunder of some cities, and that the attack on the Pāndya ruler who actually held sway at the time was substantially a failure. 'Some of the towns were obtained through the animosity *which has lately arisen* between the two brothers, when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.'² In fact the expressions used by Wassaf in this passage, specially the words 'the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers', seem to indicate that so far as Malik Kafur was concerned he made no

¹ The suggestion is made by Dr S. K. Aiyangar, *op cit*, p. 96.

² *Elliot and Dowson* (vol. iii, p. 50, *Italics mine*)

an appeal from him, and they say nothing as to the effects of the invasion on the relative position of the two royal brothers of the Pāndya country. There is thus no reason to suppose that Sundara Pāndya was restored to the throne of Madura and that a Muhammadan garrison was left behind in the city for his protection ¹

In fact, the epigraphical records of Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya and their successors give the impression of a more or less continuous rule of the Pāndya country by them and we have records of Vīra and Sundara dated a few years after the withdrawal of Malik Kafur ² The only effect of Malik Kafur's inroad was to add to the confusion in the country already distracted by the civil war among the rulers of the land. The real Muhammadan conquest of South India came later, and even then it was short-lived and ineffective Within

¹ *Contra* Dr S K Aiyangar *op cit*, p 123, where Kulaśekhara is an obvious slip for Sundara and pp 156-7 Dr Aiyangar, however, says that if a garrison continued in Madura 'its authority must have been confined very narrowly, not extending in all probability to very much beyond the territory immediately round Madura' (p 123) Hultzsch (*J R A S*, 1909, pp 668-9), leaves it uncertain when the Muhammadan viceroyalty at Madura began In the *Cambridge History of India*, vol iii, p 116, Sir Wolseley Haig says 'A Muslim governor was left at Madura' by Malik Kafur, it is not clear on what authority this statement is based though it is also found in Smith's *Oxford History of India*, p 233 Likewise it is difficult to follow Sir W Haig in his statement that Ravivarman Kulaśekhara of Kēraḷa was one of the two kings of Ma'bar conquered and plundered by Maṇikō Naib The attempt to extract history from the confused chronicles in the Taylor MSS (e g Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, p 100) seems a hopeless task

² No 358 of 1922 of year 14 of Vīra, No 104 of 1918 of year 21, 305 of 1923 of year 22 and others Also No 608 of 1915 giving Śaka 1236 = 12 year of Jātavarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc A D* 1302-3) *Contra* Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Ephemeris*, vol 1, part ii, p 106) who thinks there are no records of Vīra Pāndya between his fourteenth and fortieth years, follows an antiquated system of chronology for the Muhammadan chiefs of Madura and makes needless difficulties over a record in the twenty-first year of Vīra Pāndya (No 639 of 1916) But he grants that Sundara Pāndya had a continuous rule,

privation that must have been the lot of the common people at this time. The loss in wealth was real. The country was drained of its treasure by the trade of the Arabs from across the sea and the plunder of the armies of the Sultans of Delhi. Wassaf tells us that a certain 'eminent prince' Takiuddin occupied high positions of power and prestige in the administration of the country under the Sundara Pāndya, who died about A.D. 1292, and for sometime afterwards.¹ Barni laments the rapacity and villainy of Khusru Khan which did not spare even a Muhammadan merchant Taki Khan whose great wealth was taken from him by force, himself being afterwards put to death.² The desecration of temples by the invading hosts and the horror with which their acts of vandalism filled the minds of the people who had till then been strangers to such sights, are occasionally evidenced by the inscriptions. Two of these come from Tirupputtūr (Ramnad district)³ and are dated in the forty-fourth and forty-sixth years of Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya, that is, about A.D. 1339-41. These records give an account of the reconsecration of a Śiva temple and the gratitude of the villagers to the magnate who undertook the task and completed it. 'The temple of Tiruttaliyānda-Nāyanār at Tirupputtūr is stated to have been occupied by the encamped Muhammadans (Tulukkar), "whose time it was", and to have been ruined. In consequence of this the inhabitants of Tirupputtūr became unsettled. At this juncture a certain Viśayālayadēvar of Kūraikkudi (Śūraikkudi?), surnamed Avaiyan Periyānāyanār, reconsecrated the temple and saved the people

¹ *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, pp. 32 and 35

² *Ibid*, p. 219

³ Nos. 119 and 120 of 1908 and *A R E*, 1909, part II, para 27. Also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op cit*, pp. 117 and 183.

apparently from an imminent moral and religious degradation. The villagers of Tīrupputtūr, of their free will, agreed among themselves to show their gratitude to Viśayālayadēva by assigning to him a specified quantity of corn from the harvest reaped by each individual, and to confer on him certain privileges in the temple of Tīruttāḷiyānda-Nāyanār¹.

Malik Kafur's inroad into the Madura country, though it did not bring the Pāndya territories into subjection to the Sultanate of Delhi, nevertheless marked the beginning of the end of the Second Empire of the Pāndyas. The effects of the disputed succession and the Muhammadan invasion are seen in the subjection, however temporary, of the Pāndyas to their Kērala contemporary, Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, followed by the permanent loss of the northern districts of the Tamil land to the Kākatīya ruler of the Telugu country and the growing independence of the feudatories of the Pāndya kingdom. From this time on, the history of the Pāndyas becomes the story of a progressive decline which ends in the restriction of their sway to portions of the Tinnevely district and, towards the close of the sixteenth century, in their final disappearance from the pages of history.

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara¹—also called Sangrāmadhīra 'firm in battle'—ruled in Travancore with Quilon as his capital. He came to power about A.D. 1311-1312 and was almost the only South Indian monarch who was left untouched by the storm of Malik Kafur's raid. This immunity left him at an advantage over his neighbours when Malik Kafur turned his back on South India, and

¹ On Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara see *E I*, vol. iv, pp. 145 ff., vol. viii, p. 8, *A R E* 1900, para 15, 1911, part ii, para 40, 1914, part ii, para 24, etc., and *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, pp. 53 ff., also Dr S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

he made the best use of his position. His inscriptions are found in Śrīrangam, Kāñchīpuram and Poonamallee, which last bears the name *Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēḍi-mangalam*. In his Kāñchīpuram inscription dated in the fourth year of his reign, A.D. 1315-1316, he claims to have defeated Vīra Pāndya, made the Pāndyas and Cholas 'subject to the Kēraḷas and at the age of forty-six (i.e. about A.D. 1312-1313) to have been crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī'.¹ The grantha inscription engraved in Poonamallee (No. 34 of 1911) states that the Chera king conquered Sundara Pāndya and granted the village Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēḍi-mangalam for the enjoyment of the Brahmins. The figure of a fish surmounted by an *ankuṣa*, i.e. 'the elephant's goad, which is depicted on the right margin of the record (No. 33 of 1911), also indicates the subjection of the Pāndya king by the Chera'.² Thus both Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya were conquered by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and these kings could have been no other than the two unfortunate sons of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara.³

¹ Mr Venkayya's doubts (*A R E*, 1900, para 15) as to how Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara was able to accomplish so much in the face of the Muhammadans who would have been very strong in Madura at this time have been met by our view of the invasion of Malik Kafur. Kielhorn and Hultzsch identified the Vēgavatī with 'a small river which flows into the Pālāru near Kāñchīpuram' (*E I*, vol. iv, p. 146). But there seems to be no great difficulty in taking it to be the better known river in the Madurai district. Another inscription seems to imply that A.D. 1313 fell in the fourth year of the king's reign (*E I*, vol. viii, p. 8).

² If this is correct, Garudadhvaja in l. 5 of the Arulālaparumāḷ inscription (*E I*, vol. iv, p. 147) must perhaps be rendered 'Garuda column' rather than 'Garuda banner' as Kielhorn does (See *A R E*, 1911, part II, para 40).

³ There may be some doubt as to the identity of Vīra Pāndya but none as to that of Sundara. There seem to have been two Vīra Pāndyas among the foes of Ravivarman. One of them was the Pāndya king whose accession was in A.D. 1296-7, the other possibly a ruler of Vēṇād who seems to have sought refuge in Konkan (*E I*, vol. iv, p. 148 and note 4 on p. 146).

The Kērala ruler, however, was not for long left in the enjoyment of the fruits of his victory. For very soon after, he seems to have been ousted from Kānchīpura by the advance of Muppidi Nāyaka the lord of Vikrama-simhapattana, that is, probably the governor of Nellore, and the general of the Kākatiya king Pratāpārudradēva. He is said to have conquered a Pāndya king and levied a tribute of elephants from him. This king might have been Sundara Pāndya as a record in his fourteenth year states that he instituted a service called after Muppidi Nāyaka in the temple at Vriddhācalam (South Arcot). Muppidi is said to have installed a governor at Kānchīpura by name Mānavīra. This expedition of the Kākatiya general seems therefore to have brought the northern part of the Pāndya empire for a time under the control, more or less effective, of the Telugu rulers of Orangal.¹

These defeats at the hands of foreign invaders following so quickly upon one another must have shaken the hold of the Pāndya rulers on the territories they subjugated and held during the thirteenth century outside the Pāndya country proper. It is not possible to trace fully the steps by which this disintegration was brought about, but we see, about this time, signs of the growing feeling among the feudatories of the kingdom that they might ignore the central power with impunity. One of the Śāmbuvarāyas of North Arcot, who were at first subject to the Cholas and later became the dependants of the Pāndya rulers, Kulaśēkhara Śāmbuvarāya, set up as an independent ruler at this time and began to date his inscriptions in his own regnal years. This Śāmbuvarāya apparently acknowledged the authority of Vīra Pāndya till the twenty-second year of his reign,

¹ See *A R E*, 1909, part II, para 73 and 1918, part II, para 50

that is, till about A.D. 1317-18 and subsequently declared himself independent. We are not, however, in a position to fix the exact date from which he counted his regnal years and began to issue orders in his own name showing the attainment of an independent or quasi-independent status by him ¹. It may be mentioned in passing that another feudatory of the Pāndya rulers of this period was Śēmāpillai, the son of Rājendra III and almost the last representative of the Chola line. His inscriptions come largely from the region of the modern Pudukkottah state ².

A few remarks on Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya (acc. A.D. 1302-1303) remain to be offered. The latest regnal year mentioned in his records seems to be 17, corresponding to A.D. 1319. He had the surname Kōdandarāman, and the coin with the legend Kōdandarāman on one side and the double fish on the other most probably belongs to him ³. This king, unlike Vira Pāndya, did not evidently long survive the defeats at the hands of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and Muppidi Nāyaka.

¹ *A R E*, 1926, part II, para 34, where Vira Pāndya is taken to be the king of A.D. 1253. There is no reason to do this as Nos. 92 of 1900 and 195 of 1923 on which the identification rests mention only Vira Pāndya and do not refer to the conquest of Īlam, Kongu, etc.

² *A R E*, 1915, part II, para 37 and 1923, part II, para 45.

³ *A R E*, 1918, part II, para 50. *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar who (*op cit*, p. 167) ascribes the title and the coin to the earlier king of the same name. But almost all the inscriptions mentioning the Kōdandarāman *śārdi* are Kōnērimaikondān records and do not give the characteristic titles of the earlier ruler. The astronomical details given in some of them seem to imply that Kōdandarāman was the later king.

CHAPTER XV

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PĀNDYAS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

BEFORE we take up the history of the later Pāndyas, tracing the story of the decline of the Pāndyan power, some attention may be given to the study of the administration and social life of the country under the Pāndyas in the age of the Second Empire, in so far as this can be done with the aid of contemporary records

Besides the existence of written records, the careful maintenance in the capital of registers showing the rights in the land of individuals and corporations and of the state all over the country is very clearly and fully attested by contemporary inscriptions. Many of these records contain transactions in which rights in land are transferred from one party to another, the stone inscriptions and copper-plate records appear to have been only copies of originals maintained in more perishable material which should have disappeared long ago, and this view is strengthened by the occurrence of the word *Tulyam* (equal) at the beginning or the end of many of these epigraphs. The frequent references to *ōlar* found in our records may also lead one to the conclusion that the originals of the documents were written on palm-leaves.¹ There appears to have been a regular procedure to be observed in the numerous cases in which lands were made over tax-free to temples or Brahmins by the state.² In such cases the first step was

¹ See *A R E*, 1919, part ii, para 24

² See *A R E*, 1912, part ii, para 37, 1917, part ii, para 8, and 1923 part ii, para 56

to prefer a request to the king at some suitable hour and get his oral sanction to the proposal. This was usually done by a high official of the state. The king's sanction was accompanied by an order that the necessary entries should be made in the revenue registers and the *ōlai* and *ulvari* from the revenue department issued thereon. Sometimes, years elapsed from the date of the oral order before a single transaction was carried through all its stages and the grant became effective. The entries in the revenue registers appear to have been intended to effect a decrease in the revenues due to government and to record a corresponding increase in the income of the donee. Such transactions are generally found in triple or some times even quadruple records, the main part of the contents being repeated thrice or four times, each time with a separate purpose. The first is generally a simple record of the king's oral sanction—*Kēlvi*, or *Tirumugam* as it is sometimes called. The exact significance of the *ōlai* and the *ulvari* is not quite clear. The *ōlai* generally begins with the Kōnērīnmaikondān title of the king, without his proper name, and appears to have been an executive order to the officers on the spot to give effect to the king's order with reference to the lands in question. The *ulvari* on the other hand partakes of the nature of a title-deed granted to the donee, and is signed by a number of revenue officers (*variyilāi* or *varikkūruśeyvār*). It seems likely that a similar method of maintaining records at the capital and communicating copies of the orders to the executive officers of the localities concerned was observed in other important matters as well. We have thus a Kōnērīnmaikondān record of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc* 1268) from Alwār Tirunagarī (No 467 of 1909) which confers certain special privileges in the distribution of the *prasādam* in the temple on a certain Brahmin who

coin) if dry, again, the *vādākkadamai* was half *panam* on every *mā* of garden land growing plantain, ginger, turmeric or betel. We are not in a position to say much regarding the kinds of taxes raised besides the dues from land. A record of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya of about the end of the thirteenth century A.D. from Tirukkāccūr (Chingleput), No. 300 of 1909—states that a tax of six *panams* per annum was levied on each shop-keeper, on each loom of the *kaikkōlar* and the *śāliyar*, and on each oil-monger.¹ It is interesting to note that a king, Parākrama Pāndya, whom it is not yet easy to identify, confers on a certain individual in the South Arcot district the right of collecting certain taxes as a remuneration for his duties of *pādikkāval* (village watch). The collections were 'at the rate of one *kalam* of paddy on every *mā* of wet land and one *panam* on the same area of dry land, 1/16th *panam* on every areca palm, five *panams* on every *mā* of land which produced sugar-cane, *kolundu*, ginger, gingelly and plantain, and two *panams* a year for every house (*vāśal*).'²

When so much is uncertain about the number and nature of the taxes levied, any conclusions about their incidence and their pressure on the people will not be easy to formulate. However, some stray facts that can be gathered from the inscriptions may be set down here. But no general conclusions can be drawn from these exceptional instances which throw little light on the normal system of administration. A record (No. 8 of 1913) of the famous Pāndya emperor Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (acc. A.D. 1251) seems to register the curious fact that the villagers had to make use of the *vāram*

¹ See *A R E*, 1910, part II, para 34

² *A R E*, 1922, part II, para 33

the locality, that shares in the produce between landlord and tenant often differed according to the nature of the crops raised, the tenant's share increasing with his part in the raising of the produce, and that, besides a share in the produce of the land, the landlord often had sundry other small claims on the tenant which were met by payments in cash or kind. An inscription from Ālangudi (Tanjore) of a certain Kulaśēkhara (No 509 of 1920)—probably the king whose accession was in A.D. 1314—is very interesting, but there are difficulties in using it, as the only summary of the record that is available is not clear on many points, it gives an unusually detailed account of the rights and duties of landlords and cultivators.¹ Some records of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (acc. A.D. 1276) describe the rather interesting terms on which lands of a certain temple were leased to tenants—the name of the tenure being *Kāmppidi-pādu*.² Thus one record (No 66 of 1916) says that the lessee or tenant shall enjoy the lands 'after repairing the tanks in disuse and bringing under cultivation such of the lands as are covered with jungle and that while the lands are being enjoyed in this manner, he shall pay to the temple for the *pūsam*, a *mēlvāram* of one in three, for the cultivation of தீனை, வாசு, எவளு, பயறு, குருவை, சருமடி, சொழுகு, கருளை, மஞ்சள், இஞ்சி, செங்கழுநீர், வாழை, வெழுந்தலை, பூசனி . . . , etc, as well as trees மா, பலா, நாந்ததை, எலுமிச்சை, குனகிருளி, நெல்லி, இலம்பை, etc, one in five shall be given, for cocoanut and areca, palms one in seven and for dry crops, according to the yield, one in seven. In the case of lands which had been brought under cultivation

¹ See *A R E*, 1921, part II, para 38

² *A R E*, 1916, part II, para 28

pāttan (canal tax) and *pā'ṭpāttām* (fishing tax) from the temple tenants at Śūralūr'. A record (No 14 of 1909) at Pon Amarāvati (Pudukkottah) contains an order dated in the eighth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāndya Dēva forbidding the temple authorities to take water from Idangalikāman, evidently for purposes of irrigation. Another record from Pudukkottah (No 380 of 1911) of probably the same king, states that a dispute between the authorities of a temple and an individual as regards the ownership of a stream was settled by providing that, 'after irrigating a certain specified field, one half of the income from fishing in the river should be made over to the temple authorities, while the other half was to be retained by the other party to the dispute'.¹ Unless an inscription in the tenth year of Jatāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (fourteenth century A D) from Tirumalai (Ramnad) has been grossly misunderstood, it may be taken to record a very interesting transaction.² Two villages and a tank irrigating lands in them are taken up by a temple from government after paying arrears of taxes due to it from a defaulting cultivator, the temple authorities had evidently miscalculated their capacity to use the lands and underrated the difficulties in the way of cultivating them properly and apparently were unable to pay their dues to the state. Then, in the presence of the king, they sold the tanks and the lands to two brothers for a sum of money with which they set up the images of Ganapati and Mānikkavāṣagar, and it was agreed that, after that, the dues which the brothers had to pay on the lands they had bought, and which were fixed in detail, were to be used 'for providing for the sacred

¹ *A R E*, 1915, part II, para 32

² *A R E*, 1924, part II para 38,

Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya give a continuous account of a single crime and the manner in which it was dealt with ¹. A temple priest, Vāmanabhatta by name, who was returning home at night from the temple, was, for some unknown reason, hacked to death in a street by hired assassins employed by one Sattīyanāvan. The murderers took refuge in a neighbouring place and afterwards escaped from it, when attempts were made to capture them. 'Thereupon, the belongings of Sattīyanāvan in Karuvērkuṛicci consisting of lands, houses, gardens and servants both male and female, were confiscated and made over, as a gift to the temple of Śokka-Nārāyana'. Subsequently, the murder of Vāmanabhatta was avenged and Sattīyanāvan was killed, we do not hear by whom or under what circumstances, then his son made an appeal, less than four months after the date of the original murder, to the authorities, the Śrīvaiṣnavas and others connected with the temple, he said that he had been ruined by the confiscation of his father's property, himself having been no party to the murder, and that he would pay 800 gold coins to the temple treasury in lieu of the confiscated property. His plea was accepted and his father's lands, houses, gardens and servants both male and female were restored to him subject only to the additional condition that he should maintain a service (*śandī*) in the temple. We also learn that, in the interval, the property of another person had been confiscated, but afterwards, most of it was restored, probably because he was able to establish his innocence. Some points come out clearly in this case and these are worth noting. Justice is administered in a rough and ready manner by the local authorities of the village. A

¹ Ins 301, 302 and 303 of 1923 and *A R E*, 1924, part ii, para 77

criminal who is notoriously guilty of a serious offence, in this case the murder of a Brahmin, and escapes punishment, not only forfeits his property, but becomes more or less an outlaw who may be killed with impunity by anybody. The property that is forfeited under such conditions enriches the temple, and neither the king nor the villagers seem to touch it, probably in literal fulfilment of the injunction of Manu in the matter (ix 243). When the murderer has paid for his offence with his life, the bulk of his property is restored to his heir, double punishment for the same offence being avoided, so to say. A curious inscription from the Chingleput district contains a strange narrative of an organized attempt at brigandage and terrorism on the part of some unlawful persons of Ūttipākkam and the manner in which the offenders were dealt with ¹. Five Brahmins whose names are recorded, and some Vellālas 'gave up the duties legitimate to their caste, and following the profession of the lower classes, wore weapons, murdered Brahmins, cut off (their) ears, insulted the Brahmin ladies, committed robbery, destroyed cattle and sold them'. On a former occasion complaints had been made against these very men to the ruling authorities and they had been beaten and fined, without being actually imprisoned. But they behaved no better afterwards and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood again complained of their misdeeds to prince Pottappīyarāyar, the ruler of the division,

¹ Ins 315 of 1909 and *ARE*, 1910, part II, para 34. I do not agree with Mr Krishna Sastri in his view that the payment of the balance of the criminals' property for charities in the temples was made 'in order that these misguided people may, as a consequence, improve in their character and become at least in the future, useful and loyal subjects'. The king evidently had lost all hopes of them, and the temples appear to have been the residuary claimants of all escheated property that was not taken by the state.

who sent a contingent of Malayāli soldiers to apprehend the criminals, two of the Brahmīns in the gang, Ātkondavillī and Pāmbanaiyān, were captured and imprisoned, but not before some of the soldiers lost their lives in the conflict with them, and others were stabbed, shot with arrows, or deprived of their weapons by the bandits. When, some time later, the two prisoners along with some others were being taken to the king's presence, 'the three other Brahmin brothers who were still at large and who, in the meantime, had collected together a number of people, attacked and killed the party which was leading the captive brothers to the king, liberated them and escaped. The news of this action of the rebels having reached the king, he issued the stringent orders that they be captured wherever found and punished according to the rules applicable to the lower classes, that their houses and other hereditary property be sold to temples and other charitable institutions, that the money thus realized be credited to the treasury in payment of the fine imposed on them and that the balance, if any, be presented to the temples as a permanent charity in the name of the criminals' We do not know how the offenders fared after their outlawry by the king, but we learn that the order regarding the sale of their properties was literally fulfilled. These occurrences belong to the reign of a Jātavarman Sundara Pāndya who was perhaps the famous ruler of that name who came to the throne in A.D. 1251 or some later monarch. We have an instance of gross mismanagement on the part of a temple manager coupled with misconduct with 'a Brahmin widow from a foreign country', complaints against the manager's conduct were made by the assembly of Tirupputtur (Ramanad district) about 1291 A.D. to the ruling king Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, but the king's judgment is unknown as the

end of the inscription (No. 125 of 1908) is lost.¹ It seems to have been the rule that all offences were in the first instance dealt with by the village officers and the village assembly of the locality, and that only when these authorities proved unequal to the task, any matter was submitted to the king's officers, or, in an extreme case, to the king himself. An inscription from Pudukkottah (No. 372 of 1906) of about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. 'refers to a meeting of the inhabitants of districts, cities and villages in Kōnādu. The *pūjāris* of the temple of Tīrunalakkunramudaiya-Nāyanār had made away with the cash as well as the jewels of the temple. One of them confessed to having taken a portion of the lost cash and shared it with a carpenter. The other *pūjāris* denied all knowledge of the lost property, but were implicated by the former. The lying *pūjāris* were ordered to be taken to the court (*dharmaśāstra*) where they were required to handle a (red-hot) ploughshare. The hands of all of them were burnt, and then they confessed their guilt. They were all ordered to be dealt with as sinners against the god Śiva (*Śivadrōhinī*).'² The references in this record to the *dharmaśāstra*—perhaps the king's court—and the ordeal of the ploughshare must be noted. Another record furnishes an instance of the recognition of the right of private warfare among local chieftains so long as it did not interfere with the peaceful villagers in the neighbourhood (No. 359 of 1914).

A few civil disputes with the manner of their settlement are also recorded. In one case (No. 371 of 1920) there was a dispute among Bhattars connected with a temple near Kāttumannārkōyil in South Arcot 'as to

¹ *A R E*, 1909, part II, para 28

² *A R E*, 1907, part II, para 27

who had the right to perform the *pūja* in the temple, and the matter was arbitrated by the assembly with the aid of proofs produced by either party to the dispute, and it is interesting to note that one side pleaded prescription as having enjoyed the right 'from the time of Kulōttunga Chōladēva II who covered (the temple) with gold, Rājarājadēva II, Perumāḷ Tribhuvana Vīradēva, Rājarājadēva III, Avani-ālappīrandān-Kōpperunjingadēva, Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadēva, Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva, Vīra Pāndyadēva and even up to the eleventh year of the ruling king, Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadēva, as a matter of course' ¹ The succession of kings who ruled in the locality appears to be very correctly mentioned here and that fixes the time of the record somewhere late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century A D About the same period or a little later (more exactly, Śaka 1298, A D 1376), we hear of a long-standing dispute in twenty-four villages in the region of the modern Ramnad district between the caste people and the pariahs in the villages, resulting at one stage in some loss of life on both sides, this dispute seems to have been settled ultimately in an amicable manner by the intercession of a certain Gāṅgaīarāyan, evidently a royal official. The

¹ *ARL*, 1921, part ii, para 40. The epigraphist adds 'It is interesting in this connection to note that, in the assembly that met to decide this question sat, among others, pilgrims from many districts and people from different parts of the kingdom. It is not known whether these outsiders had any voice in the deliberations of the assembly. However, the fact remains that the assembly was not a packed body and that public opinion was invited as a healthy factor in the deliberations of the assembly. I am inclined to think that nothing more is meant in the record than that the proceedings of the assembly were public, even as trials take place in open court to day, but I do not have the text of the inscription. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the assembly had a fluctuating constitution, or that they were directly influenced in their judgment by the 'public opinion' of the pilgrims and others

understanding that both sides accepted was 'that the pariahs should beat the drum (*muraśa*) for the caste people on all occasions, good and bad, and receive in return a *padakku* of paddy and a fowl. Every resident of the *parru* who was entitled to the privilege should measure out in the harvest season, irrespective of the yield, a *kalam* and a *tūm* of paddy (to the pariahs) for this service.'¹ It may be noted, by the way, that in the time of a Sundara Pāndya we have an instance of a lady, by name Perungarunaiyātti *alias* Dēvargalammai, who was counted among the *nyūyaltār* (committee of justice?) in the well-known village of Uttaranmērūr (probably modern Uttiramallur near Kānchīpuram)², and that 'a record of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc* A.D. 1268) from Kīladi in the Madura district (No. 449 of 1906) refers to the *nrvāhasabhai* (executive committee) of the village'³

The part played by the temple in the general life of every village is very largely attested by our epigraphs. We have seen enough to realize that the most fruitful sources of our knowledge of the history of the country are stone inscriptions preserved in temples and copper-plate grants. Of these the stone records in temples are more numerous and varied in their interest. In addition to throwing light on matters like land-tenure, revenue administration and the administration of law and justice, these records enable us to reconstruct with some confidence the part of the temple in the general social economy of the time. It is clear that in the middle ages in South India the temple was much more than a place of common worship. 'Temple worship is not so

¹ *A R E*, 1924, part ii, para 34

² *A R E*, 1910, part ii, para 35

³ *A R E*, 1907, part ii, para 26

important for the Hindus as church services for the Christian. They set more store on home ceremonies and on contemplation'.¹ And yet, every village had its temple, and every temple was the object of universal attention at the hands of the princes and the people of the land. The temple is historically more important as a social and economic entity than as a religious institution, the history of Hinduism, even in South India, is much more than the history of her temples. But the story of the social life of the country, of her common people, centres round the temple in a manner, that is perhaps equalled only in mediæval Europe, although with this vital difference, that in South India the villagers held the temple, while in Europe the church or the monastery held the village.

The temple was the centre of universal culture. The best architecture and sculpture and such painting as there was, were lavished on it. Fine arts like music, dancing and jewel-making flourished in the temples and primarily on their account. Several temples contained libraries and were centres of religious and secular learning. The drama, closely allied to the dance, was promoted by some temples. Above all, the temple was for the village the most powerful economic corporation which not only sustained, by means of its lavish endowments, the arts of civilized existence, but enabled the villagers to turn to it in times of need for economic support, if not also for purposes of physical defence.

A few facts, gleaned from a mass of similar data, may now be set down to confirm these statements about the temple and its part in the life of mediæval South India. An inscription of about A.D. 1260 from Madambākkam

¹ Sir Ch. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. lxxiv.

(Chingleput) dated in the tenth year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (No. 322 of 1911) states that 'the assembly of the village seeing that it was not possible to maintain the lamps, offerings and festivals in the temple from the income available for that purpose, assigned the north division (*vadakkūru*) "with its wet lands, garden lands, heuses and house-sites" to the temple, but retained therein 3,000 *kul* of land with houses and house-sites for their own use. They decided also to pay the dues¹ on them such as *pon-varu* and *nāttu-varu* from their own pockets and agreed that "if ever, owing to unfortunate circumstances, we are induced to sell this land, we shall do so, for the price at which it then sells, to the sacred treasury of the temple".'¹ An inscription from Kāmarasavallī (Trichinopoly) of the tenth year of Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya (No. 88 of 1914) gives an idea of the manner in which funds were raised by the inhabitants of the *valanādu* for effecting certain repairs to the temple. They agreed to pay to the temple a small cess on all merchandise sold by them, e.g. one-fourth *panam* on each bundle of cloths for women, on each *podu* of pepper, on each *padu* of areca-nuts, one *kāśu* on each *podu* of paddy, etc.² A record from Aḷagāpurī (Ramnad) (No. 109 of 1924) dated in the fifteenth year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara-dēva contains a gift, by the assembly of Aḷagāpurī, of all the taxes due to it by the residents of the streets round the temple for the provision of lamps in the temple. Another record from Mannārkōil in the nineteenth year of Kulaśēkharadēva (No. 408 of 1916) mentions the acquisition by the king's order (*nyōga*) of private houses for a second *prākāra* to the temple being built according to

¹ *A R E*, 1912, part II, para 36

² *A R E*, 1915, part II, para 36

the *Sāstira* A curious record from Tirumalai (Ramnad) in the fifth year of the reign of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara (No 33 of 1924) mentions 'the meeting of the big assembly of the Māhēśvaras of the eighteen districts (மஹேஸ்வர) in the hall called Tirugnānasambandan-tiruvēduttukkatu in the temple of Śūradēva-īśvaramudaiya-Nāyanār at Alagaimānagar to show their appreciation of the services rendered by a *dēvaradiyāl* to several temples of the locality, such as, setting up of certain images wanting in the temples and the construction of *pīṭhās*, by conferring on her family the hereditary honour of sounding the conch and the drum at the time of entry into the temple' ¹ The villagers of Vāyalūr (Chingleput) came to an agreement in the eighth year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (A D 1258), by which they released all the lands which belonged to four temples which were probably all situated in Vāyalūr, and relinquished their previous hold on them, whether that was by mortgage or by purchase In addition to this, they undertook never again to hold these lands, either as purchasers or as mortgagees, on pain of 'treason against Śiva' and 'treason against the king' ² A record from Tirupputtūr (Ramnad) of a Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva (No 101 of 1908) who might have ruled earlier than A D 1200 and was perhaps the Kulaśēkhara of the civil war, states that the assembly (மூலபரிஷத) of Tirupputtūr wished to go to Madura to meet king Kulaśēkhara and accordingly made certain temple lands rent-free on receipt of a specified sum for the expenses of the journey ³ An

¹ *A R E*, 1924, part ii, para 26

² *A R E*, 1909, part ii, para 26 and No 363 of 1908

³ For the date suggested see *E I*, vol xi, p 137

There is another similar transaction in the same place recorded in 193 of 1908 See also No 535 of 1920 for yet another instance,

inscription from Śērmādēvi (No 695 of 1916) mentions a grant of land to a library (*Sarasvatī Bhāndāra*) in a temple in the locality, and records containing endowments for the recitation and study of the Vedas and Purānas in temples are frequently met with. A record (No 557 of 1916) from Pattamadaī (near Śērmādēvi, Tinnevely district) is of more than ordinary interest as it registers a grant to a dancing girl for enacting a drama, not specified, on certain festival days.¹

We see that the temples also furnished numerous occasions for disputes on various matters. A record in the sixteenth year of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya (No 141 of 1902) states that the authorities of the temple of Dēvanāyakapperumāl in Tīruvēndīpuram decided to follow the system of worship practised in all other temples, and we have no means of knowing the nature of the innovation that necessitated this rather conservative affirmation regarding the manner of worship. A record of the late thirteenth century (No 432 of 1913) narrates a dispute between the chetties and the oil-mongers (*vāṇiya-nagarattār*) of Aragalūr (Salem district) with regard to the management of temple festivals, and apparently the chetties succeeded in the end.² A case of dispute between two *bhattars* as to the right of conducting worship in the temple which was settled by the intercession of the village assembly has been mentioned before.³ There were also disputes as to the order of precedence in which the sacred ashes in Śiva temples and the *prasādam* in the Viṣṇu temples were to be received, or the rope of the god's car had to be held in drawing it

¹ *A R E*, 1917, part ii, para 11, also 1923, part ii, para 50

² *A R E*, 1914, part ii, para 23

³ See No 571 of 1920 and pp 228-9 (*ante*)

and such other matters ¹ About the middle of the thirteenth century a rather acrimonious quarrel between the Śaivas and the Vaisnavas representing the two adjoining temples at Tirumaiyyam in the Pudukkottah state is said to have resulted in a cessation of worship in both the temples, and to have been finally settled by the mediation of a military officer of the Hoysala Vīra Somēśvara, Appanna Dandanāyaka by name ²

The effects of the Muhammadan invasion early in the fourteenth century and the part played by Vijayanagar in the reaction against Islam are graphically mentioned in a temple record (No 64 of 1916) in the thirty-first year of a certain Māravarman Vīra Pāndya which says 'The times were Tulukkan times, the *dēvadāna* lands of the gods were taxed with *kudimai*, the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction, the *uḷavu* or cultivation of the temple lands were (*szc*) done by turns by the tenants of the village, at this juncture Kampana Udayār came (on his southern campaign), destroyed the Tulukkan, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (*nāyakkanmāi*) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived regularly as of old' It is further stated that some of the dancing girls of the temple (*dēvaradīyāi*) died, some became very poor, and many were ready to migrate to other distant places For the preservation of the original status of the temple, some of its land which was enjoyed as *kāmyātcchi* by a certain Narasinga Dēvar was now sold to another person, the former having died without leaving an heir, for the maintenance of ten dancing girls including

¹ Nos 108 of 1916 and 467 of 1909

² *A R E*, 1907, part ii, para 26 and No 387 of 1905

provision for 'food, betel-leaf, cloth and houses in the street Pavanangakārantiruvīdi'¹

Besides temples, there were *mathas* representing different sects of Hinduism which were also recipients of several gifts from the king and the people of the country, some of which have been incidentally touched upon. There is some reason to believe that the class of *Ēkadanda saṁnyāsins* was rather influential in the south of the Pāndya country. Their presence in the Vēdayāsamatha in the Bhaktavatsala temple in Śērmādēvi is mentioned in one record (No. 544 of 1911), and another (No. 435 of 1906) refers to a similar institution in Muiappunādu, near Tinnevely.² Buddhism and Jainism seem also to have survived to the middle ages, they must have carried on an obscure existence, yet there is some reason to think that Jainism had a little more importance than Buddhism. In a record (No. 113 of 1904) from Tiruccōpurm (South Arcot) dated in the reign of Jatāvarman *alias* Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāndya, a certain Śāriputtira Pandita figures as a donor and there is a reference to 'Śangattāi' most probably members of the Buddhist Sangha. A record (No. 358 of 1908) from Māngādu (Chingleput) of the reign of the famous Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1251) contains a gift of land as Palliccandam to a certain Palli—a Jain temple—whose name is illegible. An inscription from Pudukkottah (No. 367 of 1904—Ammā-sattram) of a certain Sundara Pāndya mentions one Dharmadēva Ācārya as the pupil of Kanakacandrapandita. Although the second name is in part a conjectural restoration, there seems to be little reason to doubt that

¹ *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 33

² *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 38

for Also for the maintenance of the 108 Brahmin families and others, were acquired 117 $\frac{3}{4}$ *vēlīs* of land in the village of Rājaśikhāmaninallūr *alias* Puliyangudi. The Brahmins evidently received each a full *vēlī* of land. The following other *vrittis* were also settled —teachers of Vedas, 3, teachers of Sūtras, 1, two doctors, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$, ambada-yas (?), $\frac{1}{2}$, village accountant, $\frac{1}{2}$, drummer, $\frac{1}{4}$, potter, $\frac{1}{4}$, blacksmith, $\frac{1}{4}$, carpenter, $\frac{1}{2}$, goldsmith, $\frac{1}{4}$, irankolli, $\frac{3}{8}$, barber, $\frac{3}{8}$, washerman, $\frac{1}{4}$, village watchman (*pādi-kāppān*) $\frac{3}{4}$, and the village-servant (*Vettīyān*) $\frac{1}{8}$. Of the *natta* land outside the *agrahāra* 'Brahmin quarter', three parts were set apart for Vellān-kāṇiyālar and the remainder for other professionals (?). The fruit trees, gardens, ponds, waterpits, grazing grounds, irrigation channels, uncultivable waste, embankments (?) of fields and pathways, included in the village site were made over (to the donees) as per customary law. All taxes were excused, but it was stipulated that from the fourteenth year of the king 500 *kalam* of superior paddy, was to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram for conducting the special service, Ellāndalaiyāna-Perumāl-Śandī, and that all lands which belonged to temples (*tirunāmattukkāni*) must be demarcated by stones marked with the trident¹.

A record (No 429 of 1917) of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya is said to contain a reference to an assembly of 512 but nothing more is known of it now and the text is not yet available. Records of different kings from several villages in the Tinnevely district seem to contain references to certain military institutions, the nature of which is by no means quite clear. Records from Kīlappāvūr call them Munai-edirmōgar and Tennavan-

¹ *A R E*, 1914, part ii, para 18

CHAPTER XVI

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER.

DECLINE AND END

JATĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀNDYA continued to rule for several years after the first Muhammadan invasion of the Pāndya country and, as has been seen, late records of his reign of about A D 1340 show evidence of the recovery of the land from the ravages of the invaders. It is, however, difficult to trace in any detail the course of events in the Pāndyan kingdom in the fourteenth century. The chronicles relating to the period narrate wild and fanciful stories which have sometimes been accepted as history, but are by no means reconcilable with the evidence furnished by the epigraphs. The general outline of the story is clear. The establishment of the Muhammadan power in Madura about A.D. 1330 must have deprived the Pāndyan rulers, Jatāvarman Vīra Pāndya and his co-regents of their hold on their capital. The evidence from epigraphs, however, shows clearly that even the loss of Madura did not mean the immediate disappearance of the power of the Pāndyas from the districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore. Till about the middle of the century or even a little later, the Pāndyan rulers appear to have held sway over parts of these districts.

It is not within the scope of this work to describe in any detail the story of the Sultanate of Madura and the barbarous misdeeds that disgraced the short period of its precarious existence. The subjects of the Sultans seem never to have reconciled themselves to the rule of the Turuṣkas (*Tulukkar*) as they were called, and

Madhurāvīṇayam of Gangā Dēvī ¹ The *Madhurāvīṇayam* is an almost contemporary poem in the conventional epic style in Sanskrit dealing with the conquest of the Madura Sultanate by Kumāra Kampana *alias* Vīrakamparāya. It is a composition of considerable literary merit by the wife of Kampana, and even in its present mutilated condition, the poem throws much welcome light on the political conditions of the time. We learn from the poem that some time after Kampana conquered the Śāmbuvarāya of the Rājagambhīrarājya and established his rule over Tondaimandalam (Tundīa) with his capital at Marakatanagarī (another name for Kānchī?), a mysterious lady appeared before Kamparāya and narrated to him in detail the wicked deeds of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in the southern country. She said 'The temples in the land have fallen into neglect as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the *mṛdanga*. Like the Turushkas who know no limits, the Kāvēri has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vedas have deserted the villages (*agrahāras*) which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turuskas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight, many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down, and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparnī is flowing red with the blood of slaughtered cows. The Veda is forgotten

¹ Edited by Pandits Harihara Sastrī and Srinivasa Sastrī (Trivandram, 1916) with an Introduction by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao. Canto viii, pp 69 ff.

and justice has gone into hiding, there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāvidas.' At the end of her speech, the lady produced a mighty sword, the symbol of Pāndya sovereignty and spoke again 'This sword, O! King!, was wrought of yore by Viśvakarma from the essences of all the heavenly instruments of war for the use of Lord Śiva in his fight against the Asuras. He then gave it to the Pāndyan king who pleased him by his penances, and with its aid successive rulers of his dynasty held unrivalled sway for a long time. And now finding that, by dint of fate, the kings of the Pāndya line have lost their prowess, (the sage) Agastya has despatched this sword to be placed in your strong hands.' The rest of the speech is an exhortation and a prophecy foretelling Kampana's successes in the south. This account in the *Madhurāvijayam* is valuable in two respects. It gives a fairly reliable account from the Hindu point of view of the state of feeling in the country towards its Muhammadan rulers, and in a matter like this, contemporary literary evidence is of inestimable value in supplementing the evidence from epigraphs. What is equally valuable to the student of Pāndyan history is the account of the transference of the ancient sword from the Pāndyan kings to Kampana. Agastya, the custodian of Tamil culture, is said to have made the transfer, as the Pāndyan line did not any more produce kings worth the name. The meaning behind the poetic conception is clear. The failure of the Pāndyan kings to recover Madura is the historic justification for Kampana's conquest of the Madura country, moreover, in the Pāndyan kingdom, the task of the Vijayanagar rulers was the continuance of the work of the ancient rulers of the land.

Kampana's conquest of Madura is partly described in the final fragments of *Madhurāvijayam* and attested by inscriptions and chronicles. His conquest of the kingdom of Rājagambhīra¹ is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1365, and a record in the thirty-first year of a certain Māravarman Vīra Pāndya from the Ramnad district (No. 64 of 1916) refers to the southern campaign of Kampana Udaiyār, and his destruction of the Tulukkan, followed by the establishment of orderly government throughout the country and the appointment of many chiefs (*Nāyakkanmār*) for the inspection and supervision of temples.² The date of this record is now generally taken to correspond to A.D. 1364. Three inscriptions at Tiruppullāni (Ramnad) are undoubtedly records of this Kampana and are dated in A.D. 1371 and 1374.³ On the other hand, the evidence of the coinage of the Sultans of Madura shows that their rule was continued in some manner till A.D. 1377-8.⁴ It seems a legitimate inference to make that, though the back of the Muhammadan power in the south had been broken by A.D. 1364 or even a little earlier, the last Sultans maintained a feeble struggle against the growing power of Vijayanagar till A.D. 1377-1378.⁵

¹ *A R E*, 1899, para 57 discussing No. 18 of 1899 identifies Rājagambhīrārājya with the Pāndya country and is still followed by some writers, e.g. Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, p. 104. The *Madhurāvijayam* leaves no doubt that it is a reference to the country of the Sāmbavarāyas.

² *A.R.E.*, 1916, part II, para 33.

³ Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, p. 1173, Nos. 124, 129 and 132. It may be noted here that the earliest mention of Kampana in the epigraphs of the Tamil districts is in Śaka 1285 (A.D. 1363) in 803-D at p. 1607 of Rangachari.

⁴ *J R A S*, 1909, p. 683.

⁵ Dr S. K. Aiyangar (*op cit*, pp. 182 ff) places the early campaigns of Kampana in the south in the interval between A.D. 1343 and A.D. 1355-1356 and connects them with the break in the coinage of the Sultans in this period. Rev. Heras (*op cit*, pp. 105-6) seems to underestimate the indications obtained from the Pāndyan records and is inclined to place the

years and therefore he may be taken to have ruled up to about A.D. 1380.¹ Another ruler who came to power about the same time as the one last-mentioned was Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya (A.D. 1335-52) whose records² are found in the districts of Ramnad, Tanjore, S Aicot and Chingleput. A Jatāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (*acc* A.D. 1357) was in the enjoyment of some power in the district of Ramnad and the Pudukkottah state for at least twenty-three years.³ Yet another Parākrama is credited with the renovation of the central shrine and the *mandapas* of the temple at Kuttālam, near Tenkāśi in the Tinnevely district, about A.D. 1387 in the twentieth year of his reign.⁴ And it seems quite possible that there was a fifth Parākrama Pāndya of whom nothing more can be stated than that his thirty-first regnal year was about Saka 1337 (No. 203 of 1895) pointing to some time about A.D. 1384 as the date of his accession. Lastly, we find evidence of the rule, from A.D. 1395-1396, of a Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara⁵ who claims to have rebuilt the temple at Ilanjī (a village near Tenkāśi) and founded a new Brahmin village in his fourteenth and sixteenth regnal years respectively. The inscriptions of the three rulers last mentioned are not found outside the Tinnevely district.

The evidence from epigraphs thus shows that, some

¹ Nos 453 and 454 of Pudukkottah list and 386 of 1913 and other records *Indian Ephemeris*, vol i, part ii, pp 110-1

² *E I*, vol ix, p 228, and vol vii, p 11 *A R E*, 1913, part ii, para 46, 1918, part ii, para 53 and 1927, part ii, para 39. Inscription No 25 of 1913 is a very interesting record which belongs apparently to an earlier ruler. *A R E*, 1913, part ii, para 47 seems to contradict the paragraph just preceding it. The record is treated here as relating to the twelfth, not the fourteenth century.

³ *E I*, vol ix, pp 225-8. No 63 of 1924

⁴ No 408 of 1917 and *A R E*, 1918, part ii, para 54

⁵ *A R E*, 1912, part ii, para 42, 1918, part ii, para 54

time in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D., the Pāndyas more or less completely lost their hold on the Madura country and found themselves restricted to their more southern possessions in the Tinnevely district. The change must have occurred about the time of Kampāya's final conquest of Madura or soon afterwards. The Vijayanagar viceroys seem to have been assisted in his task by the Bāmarāya chieftains and these quondam feudatories of the Pāndya kings doubtless had an interest in thus restricting the range of Pāndya power.¹ In any case, the Pāndya kings gained no material advantage from Kampāya's wars against the Madura Sultans and the establishment of the power of Vijayanagar in Madura proved to be the beginning of the end of Pāndyan rule in the city where, except for relatively short intervals, the Pāndyas had held sway from the earliest times to the fourteenth century.

The history of the later Pāndyas of Tinnevely² is the story of a more or less steady decline, punctuated by a few feeble attempts at revival, ending in the final disappearance of the dynasty towards the close of the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century. The evidence of copper-plates renders it possible to construct a genealogy of the rulers of the period, though some of

¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar at p. 5 of the *Nādyaks of Madura* by Mr. R. Satyanathan Aiyangar seems to date the commencement of the viceroyalty of Madura rather too early. Rev. Harris (*op. cit.*, pp. 107-8) reproduces apocryphal tales from the chronicles relating to the illegitimate scions of the Pāndya family having been raised to power by the viceroy Lakkana. The names of the persons concerned show that the chronicles are giving a confused explanation of the rise of the Pāmarāya chieftains into prominence under Vijayanagar.

² The most important inscriptions of the later Pāndyas have been carefully edited by Mr. T. A. Gopalantha Rao (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. 1, pp. 43-152, pp. 251-82) whose critical studies went a long way to introduce order into a part of the subject which was till then in the most chaotic condition. In my account I follow Mr. Rao in the main.

the connections are not yet as firmly established as one would wish. We have also evidence of the existence of some kings not mentioned in the copper-plates at all. Thus a Jatāvarman Vikrama Pāndya¹, who ruled from A D 1401 to 1422 and whose records are found in Kuttālam and in Tirupputtūr (Ramnad), among other places, is not mentioned in the copper-plates at all. Another king Parākrama *alias* Śrīvallabha² came to power about the same time and ruled for at least thirty-three years till A D 1434. Somewhat later instances are those of Māravarman Vīra Pāndya³ who ruled from A.D. 1443 to at least A D. 1497 and whose records are found in the Pudukkottah country, and a Māravarman Sundara Pāndya (A D 1531-1555) found in Kielhorn's list of Pāndya kings. These instances show that our knowledge of the state of the Pāndyan power under the Vijayanagar empire is still very fragmentary. It is significant that a few records of these later kings are found in Ramnad and Pudukkottah, as this is some evidence that, to the last, these kings struggled to hold their own in the Madura country. It is not till about A D 1483 that the Bānarāya chieftains are found assuming titles like *Madhurā-purī-mahā-nāyakan* ⁴

The genealogy of the later Pāndya rulers as it may be inferred from the copper-plate grants may now be given. The connections and identifications, which are doubtful have been indicated as far as possible in the genealogical tree. The period of rule of

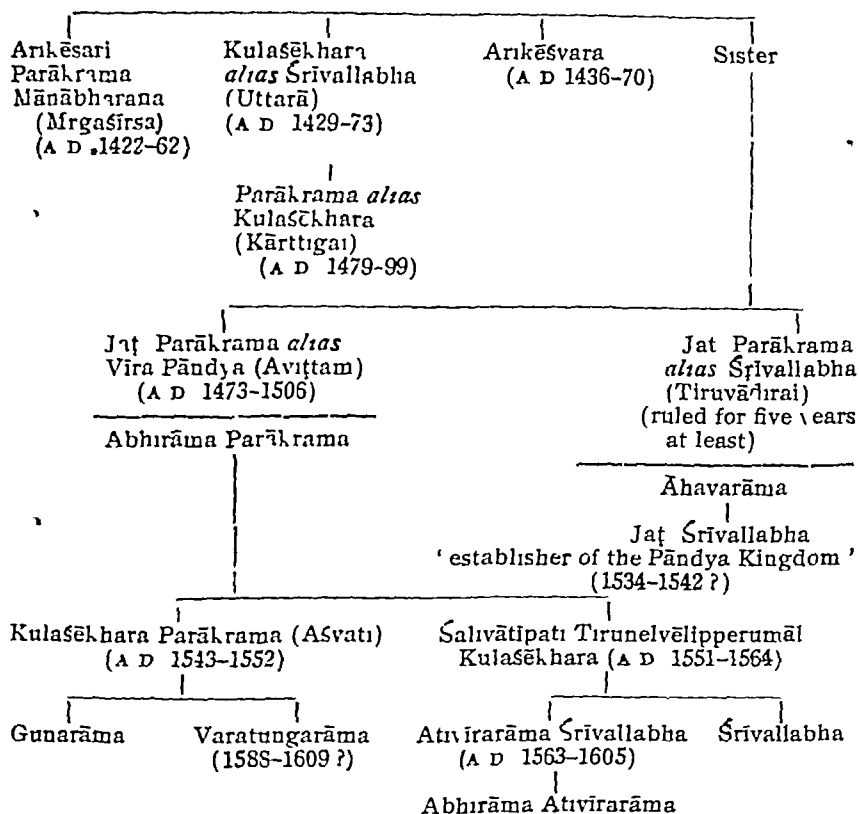
¹ *E I*, vol ix, p 228 and No 124 of 1908

² *A R E*, 1927, part II, para 52

³ *E I*, vol ix, p 229 and Pudukkottah List, Nos 461-4

⁴ No 672 of Pudukkottah List

each king and the asterism of his birth have also been entered so far as these can be ascertained —



Arikēsari Parākrama who had also the titles Mānakavaca and Mānabhūsana is known to have ruled for forty years from A D 1422¹ His inscriptions are numerous and some of them contain a long historical introduction in Tamil beginning *Pū miśai-vanṭai*. He claims to have won several victories over his enemies at various small places mostly in the Tinnevely district and to have defeated the kings of Kērala. If he is identical with the Pāndya king of Madura vanquished by Narasa Nāvaka,²

¹ *E I*, vii, p 17 and No. 11 in Gopinatha Rao's *Inscriptions of the Later Pāndyas* (Trav. Arch. Surv., vol. 1.)

² Gopinatha Rao *op cit*, pp 52-3. *Heras op cit*, pp 102-3.

as perhaps he is, he must be taken to have been in possession of Madura for the best part of his reign, as the campaign of Narasa cannot be placed much earlier than the closing years of Parākrama's reign. He is also called *Korkarvēdan*, an indication that the sea-board of Tinnevely was still in his control. But the greatest event of his reign was undoubtedly the building of the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi. The erection of this fine structure was undertaken by the king after the Lord appeared before him in a dream and asked him to make a new habitation for him at Southern Kāśi as his original abode in the Kāśi of the north had become dilapidated. The construction took seventeen years and the towers (*gōpurams*) were still unfinished at the time of the king's death. The king's unbounded piety and his great love of art are evident from a number of verses in which he makes a moving appeal to his successors to safeguard and extend the temple he raised in his day. Arikēsari also made a large tank called Viśvanāthappēreri and erected *mandapas* in Śiva temples in several places. Arikēsari Parākrama had two brothers Kulaśēkhara *alias* Śrīvallabha who completed the construction of the towers in the Tenkāśi temple and an Arikēśvara¹. It is not clear what led to the succession passing to the nephews of Arikēsari, nor is it possible to determine whether these nephews are identical with Abhirāma Parākrama and Āhavarāma with whom the regular genealogy begins in the copper-plates.

It is needless to follow the transactions of these later monarchs in any great detail. Their inscriptions often open with the grandiloquent Sanskrit introduction begin-

¹ On the identity of Kulaśēkhara with Śrīvallabha see Gopinatha Rao *op cit*, p. 263 and on Arikēśvara, *A R E*, 1918, part II, para 57.

ning *Samastābhavanatīlācitra*, and to the last they continued to be called *Madhūrāmahēndra* though they had ceased to have anything to do with Madura for well over a century. During the reign of Śrīvallabha (*acc* A.D. 1534) even the little that was left to the Pāndyas was sought to be taken away from them by the aggressive ruler of Travancore who though he was also subject to Vijayanagar, had received in his court a rebel governor of the empire from Tanjore. These circumstances brought on the expedition to the south, in the early years of the reign of Achyutarāya, which resulted in the total defeat of the Travancore ruler, the restoration to the Pāndya of the territory he had then lost and the marriage of a Pāndya princess to Achyutarāya.¹ Śrīvallabha, as a consequence, took to himself the title—'who restored the olden times' (*Iti talālam dutta*). But nothing, not even the support of the Vijayanagar emperors, could restore the glory that once belonged to the rulers of this dynasty. Śrīvallabha and his successors had to console themselves, for what they had lost of political power, by seeking distinction in literature and philanthropy. And many of them, specially Ativīrarāma² and his cousin Varatungarāma really

¹ See Heras, *op cit*, pp 113-17, for a detailed account of Achyuta's expedition.

² Verse 19 of Padukottu plates has caused a difficulty about the duration of Ativīrarāma's reign, (*A R E*, 1912, part II, para 41), as this verse says that his brother Śrīvallabha was crowned after his death. But the reading *tridivam galu* on which the interpretation rests does not seem to be quite secure. It may be observed that Varatungarāma, the other donor in the plates, could not also have been ruling in Śaka 1505, the date of the gift, in fact, 'his 135-8 of the record show clearly that the regnal year quoted is that of Ativīrarāma himself (*Contra* T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op cit*, p 57). Heras (*op cit*, pp 285-6) explain the reference to the battle of Vallamprākāra in the plates. See also Satyanatha Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p 103, n 13. For Abhīrāma Ativīrarāma the son of Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha, see *A R E*, 1912, part II, paras 40-1.

deserved the name *Sāhitya-sārvabhauma* both on account of their own literary compositions and by the encouragement they gave to the poets of the time. They also earned the gratitude of their subjects by the excavation of tanks, and the construction of temples and other foundations of public utility. These kings liked to call themselves *Dēvabrāhmaṇa-sthāpanācārya*, and when Robert de Nobili wanted that Śrīvallabha, the brother of Ativīrarāma, should listen to 'the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyāsi*', he was put off on one ground or another ¹ The last of these kings, of whom we have authentic epigraphical evidence, performed a Vedic sacrifice in A.D. 1615 and assumed the titles *Sōmayāgi* and *Dīksitar*. He seems to have lived up to A.D. 1652.² All these rulers were in subordinate alliance³ with the Nāyaks of Madura of the line of Viśvanātha Nāyakā. A few of their inscriptions⁴ refer to the emperors of Vijayanagar and their *birudas* as well, they also adopted the boar as an additional emblem of their family along with the carps and the hook. These are indications of their acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. 'There are two copper-plate records in the Kuttālanathasvāmīn temple at Tirukkurrālam which belong to the reign (I) of one Alaganperumāl Śīvala-Varagunarāma Pāndya Kulaśēkharadēvar, "who brought back the past". Both of them are dated Śaka 1675 (A.D. 1753). He bears all the *birudas* known to the previous Pāndyas.'

¹ Heras, *op cit*, pp 392-3

² Gopinatha Rao and No 268 of 1908

³ See Heras, *op cit*, pp 347-8 At p 132, however, he seems to mistake the true meaning of Viśvanātha's cons with the legend Pāndyan *Contra* Satyanatha Aiyar, *op cit*, p 65

⁴ No 615 of 1915 and Gopinatha Rao, *op cit*, p 59

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 2, n 1—See also Mr Krishna Sastri's observations in his Introduction to the *S II*, vol III, p 1

Page 8, l. 3 —Iraṇḍivadin edir padinānkavadu

Page 18, l 18—12 II Warmington—*The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*—gives an excellent account of this trade and is very fully documented. See under 'Pandyan' in the index, and specially pp 59-60. 'From the very beginning of the Roman Empire the Pandya people had probably taken the leading part in encouraging the Romans to come and trade, for they had sent, as we have seen, an embassy to Augustus.'

Page 26, l. 24 — *Putam* 15 may be compared with the following from the Vēṭṭikūḍi grant (ll. 31–2) about the same king: 'Koivanu palay oṭṭi-kkūḍi-mannar-kulaṇ tavirtta Palyāga-Mudukūḍum—p Peruvajūdi'.

Page 27, l 16 —The larger Sinnamanūr plates (ll 100–2) seem to mention another battle at Citramuyarī along with that at Talaiyamānām, and they add that two enemies of the Pundyan kings lost their lives in these battles. The text is ‘Ambor-Citramuyarī um-Talaiyam-kanattir-rannokkam-iruvenda-rar-¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ <

Page 34, ll 1-8 — aranerī-mudarrē-yarasinkorṛa

madanai, namarena-kkōl-kōdūdu

• pirarena-kkunam kollādu

ñayiranna venti-ralāṇmayum

tingalanna tanperunjāyalum

vāṇattanna vaṇmaiyu-mūnru-muḍaiyai-yāki .

nī nīdu vāliya neṇḍundakai

Pages 39-41—In editing the Śinnamanūr plates (*SII*, vol. III, part IV, pp. 447-8) Mr. Krishna Sastri follows Mr. Venkayya's arrangement of the genealogy of the Pandya kings mentioned in the Vēlvikkudī and the larger Śinnamanūr plates. He admits that the first king Arīkēsaṟi of the larger Śinnamanūr

plates at first appears to be the same as Arikēsarī Maravarman,— No 4 of the Vēlvikkuḍi grant; but he feels constrained to reject this identification, and his reasons may be briefly examined. First, he holds that Arikēsarī (Vēlvikkuḍi, 4) did not fight with the Pallava king as did Arikēsarī, the first king of the Śinnamanūr plates. This rests on his supposition that Vīlvēli against whom Arikēsarī or Vēlvikkuḍi fought at Nelvēli was 'perhaps a Chera'. But it should be noted that the campaigns of this king against the Kēraḷa ruler are mentioned separately in the Vēlvikkuḍi grant, and that Nelvēli is coupled with Śankaramangai in the Śinnamanūr grant as having been fought against the Pallavas. Secondly, Mr Sastri says that the battle of Śankaramangai is not mentioned among the battles fought by No 4 Vēlvikkuḍi, but his grandson No 6 'is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power'. Surely, the facts (a) that Śankaramangai is not mentioned in the Vēlvikkuḍi grant at all in relation to either No 4 or No 6, and (b) that Nelvēli is a common factor between No 4 of Vēlvikkuḍi and No 1 of Śinnamanūr suggest a conclusion very different from that of Mr Sastri. And it is strange that he should underrate the mention of Nelvēli by name in the Vēlvikkuḍi grant among the achievements of No 4 and imagine that No 6 fought at Śankaramangai because he is said to have crushed the Pallava power. It will be noticed also that, by his scheme, he has to postulate a second fight at Nelvēli 'against the very same or a different Chera king' for which there is no reason suggested. Thirdly, Mr Sastri says 'The title Parāṅkusa, given to Arikēsarī in the Tamil portion of the Śinnamanūr grant, makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikēsarī Māravarman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikkuḍi plates'. But one may ask, how is it less difficult to connect him with No. (6)? The title Parāṅkuśa does not occur in the Vēlvikkuḍi grant at all, and it may be suggested that the other title 'Asamasānan' which No 4 gets in the Vēlvikkuḍi grant makes it, if anything, easier to identify Parāṅkuśa with him, rather than with his grandson. And the chief name of the king Arikēsarī is common to both records and has the same import as the Parāṅkusa title. Lastly, Mr Sastri says 'The fact that Parāṅkuśa Arikēsarī's grandson is called Rājasimha in the Śinnamanūr plates suggests the possibility of Arikēsarī himself being also called Rājasimha,

which title we actually find for the first time given to Tērmāran (No 6) in the Vēlvikkudī plates' It is clearly simpler to say that the two Rājasīmhas of the Śinnamanūr and Vēlvikkudī grants are identical as well as the two Arīkēsarīs. Moreover, it is very risky to infer the titles of a king from those of his successors as is done by Mr Sastri. Thus, none of the considerations brought forward by Mr Sastri can be accepted as establishing Mr Venkayya's system of genealogy, and there is no reason to modify the conclusions stated by me at p 41. It may be added that on the other system, we know nothing of Nos (8) and (9) (of Mr Sastri's genealogical table), the so called Rājasīmha II and Varaguna I respectively, as neither the Vēlvikkudī nor the Śinnamanūr plates give an account of their reigns.

Page 42, n 1—The Śinnamanūr grants have since been published in *S I I*, vol III, part IV, Cf Mr Krishna Sastri's observations on the smaller Śinnamanūr plates at p 447. He thinks that the donor of these plates was Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan or an immediate successor of his.

Page 44, l 4 —Kantaka-Śōdanaī tānśeydu

Page 45, l 7—Sewell fixes the date of accession between March 22nd and November 22nd, A D 862 on the strength of No 84 of 1910. See Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* under Trichinopoly 683.

Page 49—Attention may also be drawn to the expressions 'Kali-araśan-vali-talara' (l 90) and 'Kalippagai' (l 100) in the account of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan's reign in the Vēlvikkudī grant. Mr Krishna Sastri interprets these phrases as referring to the Kali age, though, elsewhere, he accepts the suggestion that the Kalabhras were of the Kalikula (*E I*, xvii, pp 306 n, 307-8).

Page 50, ll 8-10—Taranī mangaiyaippirarpāl urimai-ttiravīdīn ṛikkī-ttanpāl-urimai nanganam-amaitta

Page 51, ll 14-15—Villavarum (vanai) Nelvēli-um viri-poliṛccangara-mangai-Pallavarum (vanaiyum) piṅgaṇḍa (purangaṇḍa) Farāṅkuśan. The readings within brackets are those of *S I I*, vol III, part IV.

Page 56, n 2—Mr Krishna Sastri appears to have changed his view as he mentions Śengōḍu and Puḍāṅkōḍu as battles won by Raṇadhīra.

Page 61, ll 11-12 —Vāṭṭiya-kēya sangīṭangalāl maliveydiya Vangaḷandai-vaīdyakulam

Page 63, l 5 —Kunṛamannadōr-Kōi

Page 77, n 1 —cf Mr Kṛiṣṇa Sastrī's remarks at p 449 of *S I I*, vol III

Page 79, l 8 —*Contra* Mr Kṛiṣṇa Sastrī (*ibid*) who takes her to be a Chola princess

Page 80, n 1 —Summarizing the larger Śinnamanūr plates, Mr Kṛiṣṇa Sastrī says of this Rājasimha that he 'defeated the king of Tanjai (Tanjore) at Naiṭpūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbālūr) the seat of one of the powerful Chola subordinates, burnt Vanji and destroyed the king of southern Tanjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cholas) at Nāval' (*S I I*, vol III, p 449)

Page 82, n 1 —Mr Kṛiṣṇa Sastrī (*S I I*, vol III, part IV, Introd, p 10) says that the Kanyākumārī record (of Vīrarājēndra) states that Parāntaka 'killed the Pāndya with his whole army' But as this is contradicted by the Tīruvāḷangāḍu plates and the Mahāvamśa, the expression *hatvā* of the Kanyākumārī record must be taken to mean 'defeated'

Page 85, l 13 —cf Mr Kṛiṣṇa Sastrī's remarks at p 7 of his Introd to *S I I*, vol III, part IV

Page 86, l 19 —Kōṭṭai aḷittu nanru śeydu paṭṭār

Page 86, l 20 —Ul viṭṭu-kkōyircēvakar

Page 88, l 3 —Nīrōḍaṭṭi-kkoḍuttān

Page 88, ll 7-8 —Mannavanadu paṇiyāl vaḍivamaiya-ppiḍi
śūḷndān

Page 88, l 11 —ellaiyakattu-kkallum-kalḷiyum nāṭṭi

Page 88, ll 24 ff —pīrammaḍēyamāka-kkārāṇmaiyum Miyaṭciyum ullāḍanga sarvaparīhāramākā nīrōḍaṭṭi kkuḍu-kkap-paṭṭadu

Page 89, ll 25 ff —enṛu nīṇṛavan viṭṭāppīyanjeyya nanru nanrenṛu muruvalittu nattānin paḷamaiyādal kāṭṭi nī kolkaṭṭeuna nāṭṭa-ṛran paḷamaiyādal kāṭṭinān āngappoludēy

Page 89, l 32 —Nāṭṭu

Page 92, ll 7 ff —ivvoṭṭina paṛiśu ney aṭṭuvippadaṛṅku amān-du puṇaippaṭṭōm śīrṛambar paṭiyum pādamūlattōmum

Page 95, l 26 —enṇīṇanda palliccandangaḷum

Page 98, ll 7 ff —(Ko)nnavil kūrvēṛkōn Neḍumāran ten-kūḍaṛ-kōn tennan koṇḍāḍum ten-Tīrumāl-irunḷōlaiyē

Page 101, n 1 —*Contra* Mr Krishna Sastri—Introduction to *S I I*, vol III, part IV, pp 14–17 The Madras Museum Plates are referred by Mr Sastri to 'the uncle and immediate predecessor of Rājārāja I' (*S I I*, vol III, p 267) There is nothing in the record that goes against our view that these plates may be assigned to Rājēndra I In fact, the mention of *adikarikaḷ Śōḷa mū.ēṇḍa - ēḷār-emberumān* in l 14 supports our view, as this Śōḷamūvēndrāēḷār was the commander of Rājēndra's army (*S I I*, vol III, part IV, introd p 17)

Page 103, n 1 —See also Mr Krishna Sastri—*ibid*, p 15

Page 105, n 1 —See *Annual Report Trav Arch Dept*, 1920–21, p 65 and *S I I*, vol III, p 469 for a defence of the traditional view of Kāndaḷūr-Śīlai and the fleet maintained by the Chera kings there

Page 108, n 1 —See, however, Mr Krishna Sastri's introduction, p 19, in *S I I*, vol III, part IV, for other evidence in support of Hultzsch's view

Page 115, l 2 —ūriḷḍuvarippāḍu

Page 115, l 4 —Kāni-uḍaiyār

Page 116, l 19 —vīlai ōlai sevdu nīrōḍattikkoḍuttōm

Page 123, l 20 —Tīru-vaḷara-cceyam vaḷara tennavar-tam kulam vaḷara-varumarai nāṅgavai vaḷara-vanaittulakanduyar nīnga-ttenmadurā-puri-ttōṇṇi

Page 124, l 18 —Tennavar tam Kuladeyvam

Page 135, l 18 —Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai-konḍaruḷiya

Page 135, l 21 —avan muḍimēl aḍi vaittu

Page 142, l 6 —vanjīnan gūru madakalirivaṇḍa venjina vēṅgai villuḍan-oḷippa

Page 144, l 5 —Pū maruviya tīrumaḍandaiyum

Page 145, l 13 —Śōnāḍu Kōṇḍaruḷiya, Śōnāḍukonḍu nūḍi-konḍa-śōḷapurattu vīrar abhiṣēkam paṇṇiyaruḷiya, Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgiyaruḷiya,

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

A D

- C 100-300 Śāṅgam Age
- C 590 End of the Kalabhra interregnum Accession of Kaṇḍuṅḡon
- C 620. Accession of Māravarman Avanīśūlāmaṇi
- C 645 „ Śēṇḍaṇ (Jayantavarman)
- C 670 „ Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman
- C. 710 „ Kōccaḍayan Raṇadhira
- C. 740 „ Rājasimha (I) Māravarman Pallava-bhanjana
- C 765. „ Jaṭila Parāntaka (I) Neḍuṇḍaḍayan *alias* Varaguṇa Māhārāja
- 770 Consecration of the Viṣṇu temple built by Mārangāri at Ānamalai
- C 815 Accession of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha
- 862 Accession of Varaguṇavarman
- C 880 Battle of Śrī Purambiyam
Accession of Parāntaka (II) Vīranārāyana Śaḍayan
- C 900 Accession of Rājasimha (II) Māravarman
- C 920 Capture of Madura by Parāntaka I Chola, end of the First Empire, flight of Rājasimha (II)
- C 950-1000 Completion of the Chola conquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom The wars of Vīra Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Chola' Rāja Rāja I's campaigns in the Pāṇḍya country
- C 1020 Rājēndra's invasion and settlement of the Pāṇḍya country
- C 1020-70 The period of the Chola-Pāṇḍya Viceroys Rājādhirāja's wars in the Pāṇḍya country
- C. 1080-1100 Kulottunga I's invasion of the Pāṇḍya country
Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha and Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍya
- C. 1120. Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya
- C. 1132. Accession of Māravarman Śrīvallabha.

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- C 1162 Accession of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśēkhara of the Civil War
- C 1168-70 Civil War between Kulaśēkhara and Parākrama
- C 1180 Accession of Vikrama Pāndya (son of Kulaśēkhara) and renewal of the Civil War by Vīra Pāndya (son of Parākrama)
- C 1189 End of the Civil War and flight of Vīra Pāndya to Travancore
- C 1190 Accession of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara (I) Beginning of the Second Empire
- C 1216 Accession of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya (I)
- C 1223 Restitution of the Chola country by Sundara Pāndya
- 1238 Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara (II) Accession of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya (II)
- 1251 Accession of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāndya (I)
- 1251-8 Sundara Pāndya's wars against the Cheras, the Hoysalas, Kōpperunṅga and Gaṇḍagōpāla
- 1253 Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāndya (I) (sub-king)
- 1268 Accession of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (I)
- 1276 Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāndya (II) (sub-king)
- 1283 Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya (sub-king)
- C 1284 Kulaśēkhara's conquest of Ceylon
- 1291 Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha (sub-king ?)
- 1296-7 Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāndya (II) (sub-king)
- 1303 Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāndya (III) (sub-king)
- 1310-11 Murder of Kulaśēkhara (?) Civil war between Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya Malīk Kafur's invasion of Madura
- 1311-13 The assumption of independence by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, Chera, and his conquest of the Pāndya country End of the Second Empire
- 1314 Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (II)
- 1315 Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāndya (I)
- C 1317 Assertion of independence by Kulaśēkhara Śāmuvarāya Invasion of Muppidi Nāyaka and his capture of Kānchi
- 1329-30 Establishment of the Sultanate of Madura.

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1334. Māravarman Vīra Pāndya (I)

1335 Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya

1357 Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāndya (II)

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1543 Kulaśēkhara Parākrama

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1615 Performance of a Vedic sacrifice by Varaguṇa Śrīvallabha *alias* Kulaśēkhara

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